The Outlook

DECEMBER 13, 1922

INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT

IF there is one thing more than another that Americans require of their political affairs, it is that they should be open, aboveboard, and discussable by all. Invisible government and secret influences form the antithesis to democracy. We have and will maintain freedom of speech and of the press, subject only to the apothegm stated the other day in these columns, "Personal liberty ends where public injury begins."

The most moderate programme put forth by defenders of the revived Ku Klux Klan shows its purpose to influence legislation, public opinion, and political elections. It has a right to do all this if it acts openly and fairly. It has no right to work secretly by underground methods to inflame racial and religious prejudice in order to bring about political or legislative action. If one says this to a defender of the Klan, he replies, "Well, the Knights of Columbus do the same thing." We have seen no evidence of this; but, if it is so, then that or any other organization so acting is subject to precisely the same criticism. Meanwhile it is notorious and self-evident that the Klan cunningly tries to twist into one cord the three hateful strands of anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, and anti-Negro prejudice. Help yourself, in effect the Klan says, to your own special hatred! All this is distinctly un-American.

There is no objection to secret societies in themselves. Any one can name offhand several that are admirable as sources of social enjoyment, of mutual benefit, of fraternal benevolence. Ceremony and ritual are attractive to many people, and it is true that many secret societies are not merely harmless, but beneficial. Yet, in order that the worthy associations should not be confounded with the objectionable, it is at least desirable that all should be registered with the State authorities and the names of their responsible officers be available for purposes of inquiry. Emphatically this is desirable in the case of an organization like the Ku Klux Klan, founded originally as an instrument of terrorism, and lately revived in an effort to foster race and religious animosity and to throw the influence of its secretly banded members on this or that side of a political issue. We are not permitted to know when and why the Klan's influence is thus exerted, and in such a situation fair discussion is impossible. Just lately, for instance, one newspaper correspondent remarked:

> One of the surprises of this year's election was the success of a candidate for Governor of Oregon, with Ku Klux support, and the adoption by the voters of that State of a law designed to do away with *all private schools* and all parochial schools at which a feature of the teaching is instruction in religious matters.

It may be that the Ku Klux Klan was influential in the election of a Governor in Oregon and in the adoption of the school law—and it may not; how can we tell what an oath-bound society has done? The same thing applies to the election of Senator Mayfield in Texas, "said to be" due to Klan efforts. We don't want "said to be" in American political life, we want open politics as well as open diplomacy.

When the present Klan revival was new, there were several acts of violence charged against local Klans. The National officers of the Klan in one or two instances expelled the local chapter; in other cases the Klan was declared to be wrongly accused. Thus was exposed instantly one danger attached to those who ride by night "to do justice to wrong-doers;" others may imitate them from evil and personal motives. The Klan saw the light; and it is fair to say that this sort of lynching *à la masquerade* seems to have ceased. There remains to the mystery-loving "joiners" the oddly mingled delight of mask, gown, and torch, with the joy of alliteration, and the inconsistent pleasure of seeing in newspapers flashlight photographs of their midnight ceremonies.

Kirby in the New York World

THE HOODED COBRA

THE CASE OF THE MILLIONAIRE COMMUNIST

WILLIAM BROSS LLOYD made a speech in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in January, 1919, in which he advocated what he called "revolutionary preparedness." It was in order to enable those who wanted a change in government or in social order, not merely to advocate

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effectively their ideas, but to put them in force by violence. In the course of his speech Mr. Lloyd said:

> We want to organize so if you want to put a piece of propaganda in the hands of everybody in Milwaukee you can do it in three or four hours. If you want every Socialist in Milwaukee at a certain place at a certain time with a rifle in his hand or a bad egg, he will be there. We want a mobilization plan and an organization for the revolution. You want to get rifles, machine guns, field artillery, and the ammunition for it; you want to get dynamite. . . . You want to tell off the men who are to take the dynamite to the armory doors and blow them in and capture the guns and ammunition there so that the capitalists won't have any. Dynamite the doors of the banks to get the money to finance the revolution.

This man, the son of Henry D. Lloyd, the late economist and reformer, and thirty-eight others were indicted for conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the present form of government in America by violence, and to that end unlawfully and wickedly and feloniously to engage in various forms of propaganda, including selling and distributing books, aiding in the organization of the Communist Labor Party, assembling in meetings, and raising flags and banners and other insignia.

The indictment was in twelve counts and was brought under the law of the State of Illinois which makes such offenses punishable by imprisonment. That law was passed on June 28, 1919—a few days more than five months after Lloyd's speech from which we have quoted. Of course neither he nor his fellow-conspirators were indicted for this speech. They were indicted and twenty of them were arrested, tried, and convicted for acts subsequent to the passing of the law. This speech of Lloyd's, however, together with other words and evidence as to the activities of some of the accused prior to the passage of the law, was introduced as evidence to show the intent of these men in advocating the doctrines that they did advocate after the passing of the law.

The jury was satisfied that the men they convicted were guilty of a conspiracy to overthrow by violence or other unlawful means the representative form of government now secured to American citizens.

Punishment of the convicted was delayed by the elaborate technical objections of their counsel; so it was not until the latter part of November that Lloyd and some of his co-defendants began to serve their prison sentence. Almost immediately Governor Len Small, of Illinois, commuted the sentences and the men were released.

Probably this case would have gained no such notoriety except for the fact that among those indicted was one man, Lloyd, who is reputed to be a millionaire, and another, John Reed, a Harvard graduate, who after the indictment died in Russia and is accounted as a hero by the Bolsheviki.

LEGALITY AND EXPEDIENCY

That these men were legally convicted there can be no doubt. Every imaginable technical objection, as well as every effort which to a non-legal mind would seem reasonable, was employed by the counsel of the accused to prevent conviction. A reading of the case might suggest to a satirist a subject for an operetta as pertinent to the complexities of the law as Gilbert's "Pinafore" was pertinent to the official red tape of the British navy. Into these technical objections it is not necessary to go. It is sufficient to say that they were for the most part overruled by the trial Court and rendered unavailing by the Supreme Court of Illinois on appeal. The counsel for the accused petitioned the United States Supreme Court to act in the case, but Justice Sutherland refused a writ of error on the ground that the matter was one for the Illinois Supreme Court to handle.

From the decision of the State Supreme Court one of the justices of that Court dissented on the ground that the so-called Overthrow Statute, which these men were convicted of violating, was "so vague and general and so clearly against the American doctrine of freedom of speech as to be held unconstitutional." In reaching this decision he was not swayed merely by Constitutional considerations, for he acknowledged that one question about which he was exercised was whether drastic penalty for these men was "the best way, from a public standpoint, to counteract the tendency of their views."

It was evidently because of doubt as to the justice and expediency of the law against the advocacy of violence that Governor Small released the prisoners. At any rate, in releasing them he said: "These men are not criminals." And he added that they had already suffered severely and that no great good could come from longer incarceration.

Very possibly in England these men would not have been imprisoned, or even tried. The length to which violent speech can go with impunity in that country often astonishes Americans. Conditions there, however, are not parallel to those here. National security in Great Britain does not rest upon loyalty to any theory of government; it rests upon the traditions of the British people. In this country loyalty is not to a tradition, but to an ideal, and to destroy that loyalty is to destroy the substance of the Nation itself. To put a man like William Bross Lloyd in prison may not be the best way to safeguard the institutions which he attacks (and which, most illogically, he appeals to for refuge when he is caught trying to destroy them); but the instinct which frames laws against the activities of such foolish and reckless men is a sound instinct. Free governments have the right to protect themselves. The Lusk Law in New York, which puts all schools and schoolteachers under the burden of proving their loyalty, is an unwise if not unjust method of exercising that right; the Overthrow Statute of Illinois is not in the same category with the Lusk Law, and is much more defensible, but we are not convinced that the Overthrow Statute is in every respect a wise method. There are some objects which can best be obtained, not by repression, but by patient and wise education.

AN INTOLERABLE FILIBUSTER

By employing obstructive tactics a minority in the Senate has forced the majority to withdraw from consideration, and from any practical chance of passage, the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill.

We are not greatly concerned over the failure of the Anti-Lynching Bill to become a law. Even at best it would have been an experiment. We believe it is an experiment that ought to have been tried. It is a reproach to the whole American people that lynching, with the connivance of officers of the law, can continue in this country without any action on the part of the Nation itself. If the States which have tolerated lynching in the past will eradicate it without Federal action, so much the better. But they have not eradicated it. Perhaps some better measure than the Dyer Bill can be devised. Perhaps it is necessary to wait until indignation against the lynching evil becomes so overwhelming that no reasonable doubt about National legislation can remain.

What does give us concern, and we believe should give all American citizens concern, however, is that a minority in the Senate can with impunity dictate to the Senate by means of such a filibuster as was employed by the Democrats with the approval of so conservative a leader as Senator Underwood. What the Democrats did was to interpose a practically endless series of frivolous motions. One motion, for instance, was to insert the chaplain's prayer. Another was to insert in the journal the time at which the President *pro tempore* of the Senate gave up the chair to Vice-President Coolidge. Another method was to insist upon the reading of the journal in full. Motions of this sort, which were frankly

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THESE DOMESTIC AND PARTICULAR BROILS

(King Lear, Act V, Scene 1)

Perry in the Portland Morning Oregonian

WHEE! I KIN LICK ALL THE BLOOMIN "DRYS" IN THE HULL COUNTRY!
"DRY" SENTIMENT
JOHN BARLEY-CORN
A FEW CONGRESSIONAL GAINS IN "WET" DISTRICTS

IT SEEMS TO HAVE GONE TO HIS HEAD

From Grace E. Cooper, Corvallis, Oregon

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

THE NOVEMBER STORM

From J. Fleming, St. Louis, Missouri

Morris for the George Matthew Adams Service (Geneva Daily Times)

I'D LIKE TO BUY SOME APPLES, BUT THEY ARE TOO EXPENSIVE
I WISH I COULD SELL MY APPLES BUT IT DOESN'T PAY ME TO PICK THEM UP
APPLES
IN THE CITY —IN THE COUNTRY

WHAT A DIFFERENCE A FEW MILES MAKE!

From Mary H. Dox, Geneva, New York

Perry in the Portland (Oregon) Morning Oregonian

DON'T YOU THINK IT'S TIME TO CHANGE THE SYSTEM?
SENATE
SEN McCORMICK
RADICAL
COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS TO HANDLE IMPORTANT GOVERNMENTAL BUSINESS
FORM IN LINE AND WAIT YOUR TURN

HIGH TIME

From Joseph P. Montag, Portland, Oregon

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and obviously dilatory, were permitted. This sort of thing is outrageous. No legislative body ought to allow itself to be tied up by technical rules which can be employed for the prevention of the very purposes for which that legislative body exists—the consideration and discussion of legislative measures and action upon them.

HOW LONG?

FROM New York was drawn one-tenth of the A. E. F. Yet four years after the war not a single new Governmental hospital has been completed within the boundaries of New York State.

The Government was offered a free site for a tuberculosis hospital at Liberty, New York, a town which is equipped by climate and experience to care for patients in the best possible way. The Government refused this offer and proceeded to purchase a site for a hospital on the shores of the Hudson River at a cost of, we are told, $100,000. After the expenditure of many thousands in the building of foundations, the work on this hospital has been stopped. No one seems to know whether the work has been permanently abandoned or not. Letters to Washington result merely in arousing to renewed vigor the well-known bureaucratic game of "passing the buck."

We cite this case of the New York hospital merely because it seems typical of the whole method by which the problem of the veteran has been handled. If the Administration is wise, it will bend its utmost efforts to end the régime of broken promises, procrastination, and ineptitude which has marked the activity of the Veterans Bureau. If the Republican leaders are not convinced that the situation should be cleaned up for humanitarian reasons, they should at least show that they are aware of the fact that the hospital situation is full of political dynamite.

A WOMAN JUDGE OF OHIO'S SUPREME COURT

ONE of the notable incidents of the recent election was the choice of Florence E. Allen as a Judge of the Ohio State Supreme Court. Judge Allen is the first woman to receive that honor in Ohio, and, so far as we know, is the first woman Supreme Court judge in any of the States. A well-informed correspondent sends us the following sketch of Judge Allen's career: "She was born in Salt Lake City, graduated from the Western Reserve University, and received her law degree from the New York University Law School; practiced law in Cleveland for five years, was appointed assistant prosecutor, and one year later was elected Common Pleas judge, in which position she has made a record for common sense, justice, and efficiency. Judge Allen did not enter the primaries, but was placed on the judicial ballot by petition as an independent candidate after Democrats and Republicans had nominated two candidates each."

Keystone

FLORENCE E. ALLEN, ELECTED JUDGE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO

In an article in the New York "Times" we are told that undoubtedly Judge Allen is the first woman judge to preside on the bench in a case of murder in the first degree and to sentence a man to the electric chair, the only death sentence pronounced in Cleveland for thirteen years. Another important and peculiar case tried before her, it is stated, was that of William H. McGannon, Chief Justice of the Municipal Court of Cleveland. Judge McGannon was tried for murder, acquitted, and then indicted on the charge of suborning perjury in the evidence at the first trial. He was tried for perjury before Judge Allen, toward whom he was so contemptuous during the trial that he was repeatedly reprimanded by the Judge. He was ultimately convicted, and was sentenced by Judge Allen to ten years' imprisonment, with the remark that the law applied even more to judges than to other citizens, as judges were familiar with it.

In a statement made since her election Judge Allen says: "We conducted a campaign with very limited funds, without organization, and with the definite opposition of the two political parties. The issue of my election was not important; but the fact that 490,000 voters disregarded party lines and gave us their support marks a real advance toward an independent judiciary."

An Ohio jurist and lawyer of distinction in a private letter to a member of The Outlook's staff indicates some regret that Judge Allen should be removed from the Common Pleas Court because there is great difficulty in obtaining judges of the right qualifications for that bench and Judge Allen has there made an excellent judge and one of ability and dignity. He gives his personal impression that Judge Allen was elected to the Supreme Court rather because she was a woman than because her special qualification for this position was greater than that of her opponent, Judge Hough, but admits that others might differ as to this.

THE FREEDOM OF THE STRAITS

THE Lausanne Conference reached a critical point in its discussions when on December 4 Mr. Tchitcherin for Russia outlined the Soviet position as regards the straits of the Dardanelles and the control or freedom from control of the waters to the east, including the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea. The Turkish delegates declined on that day to state their position, and thus the matter stands as this issue of The Outlook is going to press. It seems to be an open question whether the Turks will concur completely in the Russian view or whether Turkey is beginning to be a little distrustful of Russia, perhaps a little more receptive to the ideas of the Allies as to the Straits, and may therefore show a disposition to reason and a peaceful agreement.

In all this discussion we constantly hear the phrase, "The freedom of the Straits." What does it mean? Turkey, Russia, and the Allies all agree that there should be freedom of commerce through the Straits and the waters to the eastward. Turkey has claimed, and Russia now claims in behalf of what the Soviet considers Russia's interests as well as Turkey's, that Turkey should be treated as an independent, free, and equal nation and assumes from this that Turkey should have a right to fortify any part of Turkish territory, including that adjacent to the Straits. This would mean that no warship of the Allies could pass through the Straits in peace or in war without the specific consent of the Turkish Government, and this in turn means that, in case of serious trouble in the Near East, Great Britain, France and Italy would be halted at the Straits just as the British navy and army were halted in the Great War.

Now there is a plausible and apparently logical argument for the view just stated. If Turkey, or, for that matter

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Russia, had a trustworthy, representative government; if either nation were now a good neighbor to the nations of western Europe; if the Turks were not muttering about the exclusion of all Christians from their territory, and practically demanding with Russia's aid to control the business and the international relations of the entire Near East—in such a case the claim might be considered reasonable.

What Russia demands is not freedom of the Straits, but unbridled power for Turkey, or Turkey and Russia combined. Great Britain has controlled the Straits of Gibraltar for over two hundred years, and she has never used that control to oppress other nations. Could Turkey be trusted in the same way as regards the straits of the Dardanelles? The Allies do not think so; the only question is, how far they are willing to go to prevent what would be a menace to their interests in the Near East and to the peace of Europe.

Mr. Tchitcherin, in his speech of December 4, demanded for Russia an absolutely closed waterway to warships, and in support of his demand stated, the despatches say, that Russia had suffered five years from an open waterway, during which time her Black Sea ports were bombarded and insurrections assisted in consequence, and that Russia could not and would not permit in the future England's hand to be at her throat. Furthermore, in answer to the British representative, Lord Curzon, Tchitcherin asked whether England "was at the table as arbiter of the world's destinies." Russia, he said, demanded that she be recognized as one of the great Powers, in complete equality with England, and did not recognize England as arbiter.

One hopeful sign for the Allies' contention is that Rumania and Bulgaria are adverse to the position which has, up to the date mentioned, been maintained by Turkey and Russia in regard to the Black Sea. Rumania and Bulgaria are opposed to militarizing the Black Sea and in favor of every possible extension there of the freedom of commerce.

The attitude of the Turks toward the peoples of western Europe is shown in their treatment of Christians in territory claimed by Turkey. The newspaper despatches say that the Turks have ordered out of their territory every Greek now living in it; that this, if completely carried out, will result in the banishment from Turkish territory of nearly two million Greeks since the beginning of the war; that between five hundred thousand and six hundred thousand Greeks now in Asia Minor were ordered to get out by November 30, and that when this order was extended so as to date December 15 Ismet Pasha said that if Greeks stayed after that date he could not be responsible for their safety —which, coming from a Turk as regards Greeks, is practically a threat of wholesale slaughter. The Turks even asked that the three hundred thousand Greeks in Constantinople should be compelled to move, but they may reconsider that demand.

All this, taken in connection with the wholesale migration of Greeks and other Christians from Western Thrace, has flooded nearby regions with great masses of people, mostly poor, many of them in distress and without any apparent economic future.

A country which will do this is not one to be treated as an equal by the great nations of western Europe.

THE VENGEANCE OF GREECE

THE high political and military positions of the six men executed on November 28 in Athens, the inhumane circumstances of at least one of the executions, and the fact that the men were condemned by a court martial instead of a civil court stirred and startled readers the world over. Three of these men had been Premier (Gounaris, Protopapadakis, and Stratos), two others had been Cabinet Ministers (Theotokis and Baltazzis), and the sixth, General Hadjanestis, was in command of the Greek army so disgracefully routed by Kemal. Gounaris was seriously ill when condemned; he was taken in an ambulance to the scene of execution and there was put upon his feet and shot, together with the other five.

Essentially, these executions were an act of vengeance. They represented anger and shame endured by the people and army of Greece for being led into a trap. So far as the political culprits were concerned it is charged that they led Greece into this trap, not to restore peace or to defend Greece, but to save themselves from political downfall. Gounaris, whose illness made his execution so revolting, was perhaps the worst offender, for it was he who, more than any other man, was responsible for the driving out of Venizelos, the restoration of Constantine, and even for the vacillating, treacherous conduct of Greek policy which so long delayed the country from joining the Allies in the Great War. His fellow-Ministers who were shot were sharers in this tortuous and base political conduct.

For a time it seemed more than probable that Prince Andrew, a brother of ex-King Constantine, would share the fate of these six men. He was saved from death and allowed to go into exile only because of his humiliating plea that as a general he was a mere figurehead, knew practically nothing of military affairs, and did what he was told.

The Greek Revolutionary Committee, which ordered the courts martial and the executions, is now the only existing government of any real power in Athens. Great Britain promptly showed its disapproval of the bloodthirsty character of the act by breaking off diplomatic relations through the withdrawal of its Minister from Athens. It is intimated in London that it is expected that the Revolutionary Committee will soon give way to a more responsible government and that relations may then be resumed. The executions were denounced fiercely in the British Parliament. The new Labor leader, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, is quoted as saying: "The executions represent acts that must shock the whole world. If these men were guilty of acts that would justify such punishment, the highest, most deliberate formalities should have been observed before the sentences were carried out." The Prime Minister, Mr. Bonar Law, said that the Greek Government had been previously warned that if the men were executed Great Britain would withdraw its representative. When this was done, he declared that "in taking this action his Majesty's Government was actuated by the general consideration that it is contrary to the practice of civilized governments to put to death outgoing Ministers on account of the failure of their policy."

Of course it was something more than failure of a policy that these men were charged with; but the trial and executions smack more of the Middle Ages than of the Twentieth Century.

The First of

MR. W. J. HENDERSON'S

articles on the enjoyment of music will be published before the end of the year. It is entitled

"WHAT IS GOOD PIANO-PLAYING?"

TWO POETS DIE

THE world of letters is the poorer by the death of Alice Meynell and of Josephine Preston Peabody.

Alice Meynell and her husband, Wilfred Meynell, laid the world under a

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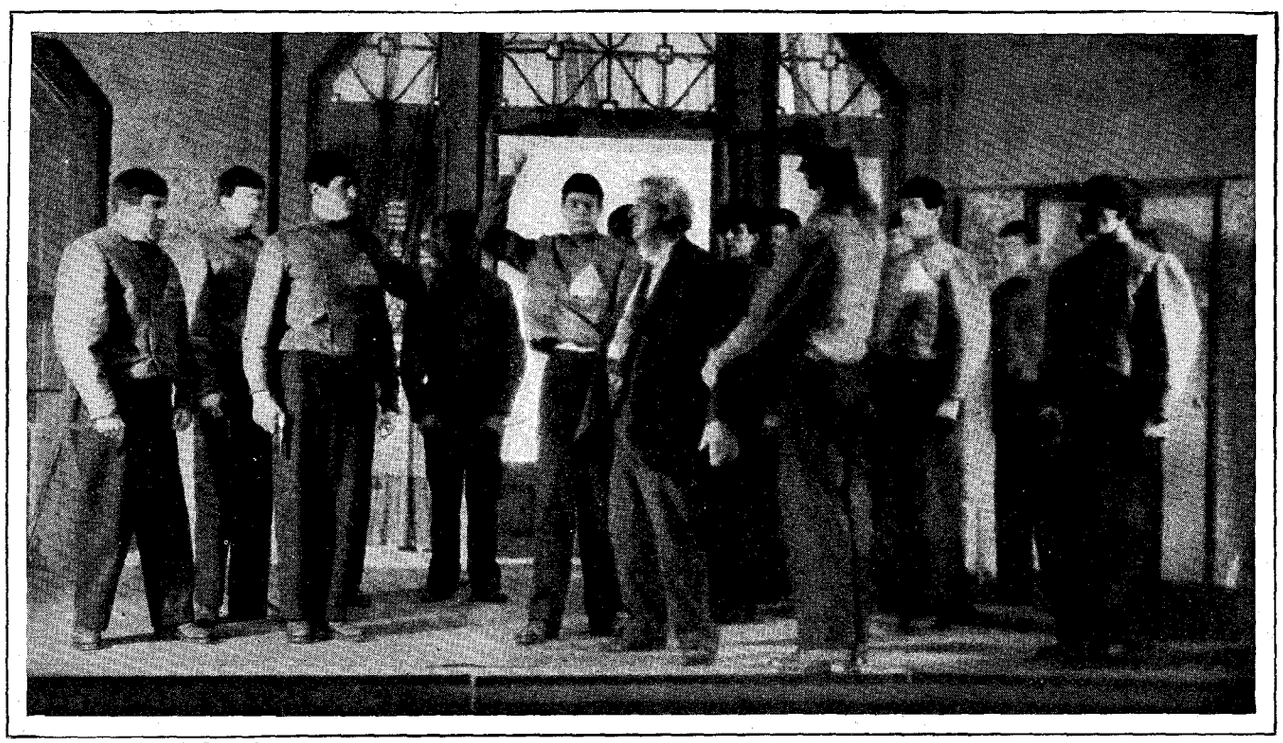

Photograph by Francis Bruguiere

A SCENE IN "R.U.R.," A THEATER GUILD PRODUCTION NOW PLAYING AT THE FRAZEE THEATER, NEW YORK CITY

The Robots have wiped out mankind with the exception of Louis Calvert, who they believed possessed the secret of manufacturing Robots. They spared his life in the hope that he might be able to teach them how to perpetuate their kind

large debt by their discovery and protection of one of the truest poets of the last century. The friendship which the Meynells gave to Francis Thompson was one of the most fruitful gifts which the history of letters records.

Guests who entered the Meynell home in Portman Square for the first time soon discerned that fundamental beauty of Mrs. Meynell's character which made such a gift possible. There are many people who can give things; there are few who can give of themselves abundantly and understandingly.

To sit at the Meynell table, to see in the flesh the children, now grown to manhood and womanhood, of whom Francis Thompson sang, was an experience worth crossing the ocean for. Mrs. Meynell of course will be remembered, not only for her personality, her hospitality, and her friendship with Francis Thompson, but also for a slender body of authentic poetry. Her work was instinct with faith in beauty and faith in humanity.

In the same week in which Mrs. Meynell died America lost a younger writer of high accomplishment. Josephine Preston Peabody (Mrs. Lionel Marks) gave to the American stage its most successful poetic drama. "The Piper" won the Stratford-on-Avon prize in 1910 and was successfully produced both in London and New York. Its New York production was perhaps the greatest achievement of the ambitious National Theater.

She will be remembered, however, for more than this one successful play. Two of her earlier volumes, "The Singing Leaves" and the "Book of the Little Past," should be found in every library. Her last work, a drama of high literary distinction, was published just a few months ago. It is called "Portrait of Mrs. W." It is yet to receive the test of stage presentation.

THREE PLAYS

THE Theater Guild opened its season with one of the most striking plays recently produced in New York—"R. U. R.," a drama from Czechoslovakia, by Capek. Its title stands for Rossum's Universal Robots, a chemically produced race of servants and laborers, created by Rossum and his successors with the purpose of eliminating the curse of Adam from the human race. These curious creatures, resembling men and women in almost everything but the power of emotional experience, are shipped out from the factory in thousands. They work, fight, and die for their masters in stolid submission. It is only when the sentimental wife of the factory manager persuades the chief chemist to labor to give these manikins souls that the Robots revolt. Led by a few of the super-manikins, they succeed in exterminating the human race save for a single man.

The play, as its plot would indicate, is melodramatic in character, but it is a melodrama shot through with flashes of brilliant satire. The play is produced in a manner fully up to the best Theater Guild tradition. It is now playing at the Frazee Theater.

For its second play the Theater Guild produced a drama of personality by A. A. Milne called "The Lucky One." It deals with the jealousies of two brothers. In the hands of Galsworthy the theme might have been interesting. Mr. Milne, however, does not treat it even with his usual deftness of dramatic technique. The first act is all exposition, and so much happens off stage between the first and the second acts that half of the latter is also used up in explaining the situation.

Very much more skillfully handled is Mr. Milne's "The Romantic Age," now playing at the Comedy Theater. The play is clean and sweet, yet not too sweet to limit its appeal to matinée audiences of schoolgirls. The heroine played by Miss Margalo Gillmore searches longingly for a fairy prince. She finds him, but not exactly in the form which she expects. The *dénouement* of the play is the thing that saves it from treacliness.

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THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE A YEAR AFTER

SCENE—*Anywhere in the United States.*

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ—A PUBLIC-SPIRITED CITIZEN *and a* PRESS CORRESPONDENT.

Public-Spirited Citizen—There ought to be a "blue sky law" against you fellows.

Press Correspondent—What have I done now?

P. S. C.—It's not what you've done now, but what you did a year ago.

P. C.—A year ago? That was when I was in Washington.

P. S. C.—Exactly. That was when you were boosting the stock of the Washington Conference on Disarmament. Now see what's become of the concern. Bankrupt!

P. C.—I deny both allegations. There wasn't any Conference on Disarmament; and it isn't bankrupt.

P. S. C.—No Conference on Disarmament? Tell that to the Marines. And, as for its being bankrupt, just look at any newspaper. Instead of scrapping battleships by the wholesale, the big naval Powers are standing pat. Here's a headline for you: "British Stop Junking Ships Under Treaty. Will Disregard Washington Pact Until France and Italy Sign, Commons Told." Here's another: "British Call Halt in Ship Scrapping. Washington Says No U. S. Vessel Will Be Scrapped Until Treaty Is Effective." And you don't need to be told that France is holding up the naval treaty and is showing no intention of ratifying it. So there you are. That whole grand Conference of yours gone to wreck. Instead of scrapping battleships they've scrapped the treaty. When a fellow gets caught promoting a get-rich-quick scheme, he's lucky if he keeps out of jail. I think you're lucky to be at large after promoting this get-peace-quick scheme. Anyway, you can't fool me again.

P. C.—I suppose I oughtn't to be surprised; but I am. How long did that Conference last, do you remember?

P. S. C.—A couple of months or so.

P. C.—Yes; almost exactly three. And you read a good deal about it?

P. S. C.—Oh, yes; till I was tired of it.

P. C.—And that's the impression you got—a Conference on Disarmament which resulted in a treaty for scrapping the big navies of the world. And you are an especially intelligent representative of the Intelligent Public. It can't be your fault that you got that idea. It must be ours, whose duty it was to tell you about it. Naturally, with that impression of the Conference you think it has proved a failure. Certainly there hasn't been any disarmament, and the big navies are as big as ever. That, however, doesn't show that the Conference was a failure; because it wasn't a Conference on Disarmament and there wasn't any proposal to scrap or even reduce a single navy. It wasn't chiefly a Conference about navies at all.

P. S. C.—What's the joke?

P. C.—No joke about it. That's the time I expected you to be surprised; and that is just where most of us press correspondents failed in our job. Naturally, naval men think of it as chiefly a naval conference because it did affect the Navy. Even so good a naval officer as Captain Dudley W. Knox (Retired) says of the Conference: "America's great experiment of trying by example to bring about general reduction of naval armaments and cessation of competitive naval building appears to have failed.[1] So perhaps it is not surprising that you, a civilian, should have a somewhat similar impression—except for the fact that you are a civilian. The Washington Conference, in fact, has already proved to be a huge success. Even from the naval point of view it is far from being a failure. Have you patience to let me try to explain?

P. S. C.—Shoot!

P. C.—Thank you—not only for your permission, but for anticipating my thought. I was about to speak of shooting. If you aim at a target and hit it, you succeed; but if a sympathetic bystander thinks you are aiming at something else, he will be disappointed. Your very success will be his disappointment. That is what happened at the Conference a year ago. A good many bystanders—you among them—thought that the Conference was aiming at disarmament and missed. In fact, it was aiming not at disarmament at all; but at two other things, and hit them both.

One thing it aimed at and hit was the limitation of naval armament.

It was not trying to destroy existing ships; it was trying to stop the building of new ones.

And it succeeded.

There were three great naval Powers racing with one another—America, Great Britain, and Japan—each trying to see how big and powerful a navy it could have in comparison with the other two. On November 12, 1921, America said to the other two: "Let us stop this race now—where we are—to-day. If we do, we shall each of us retain just as powerful a battle fleet as we have on this day, and no more. That requires some figuring. Some of us have battleships or battle-cruisers partly built. Those will have to be figured into the total strength. Some of these partly finished vessels will have to be scrapped, and some of the old ones that are of no special use ought to be scrapped so as to make everything square. But the main thing is for each of us to stop trying to outbuild the others, and to stop now." After Great Britain and Japan had looked over America's figures, they found them substantially correct, and agreed to stop the naval race. And they have stopped it. They have all three scrapped some, if not most, of their old ships. They haven't yet scrapped their new construction, because the treaty hasn't yet been ratified by France and Italy, and until it has been the scrapping of new construction would be without any authority of law. But every one of the three has stopped the naval ship-building race. That is what I call success. This is one thing that the Conference aimed at and hit.

It is true that France has not ratified the treaty, and therefore the treaty is not technically in force. But France was not really in the naval race. Through no fault of her own, she was so far behind that she was not really a competitor. During the war she was so busy building guns for Americans and others, as well as for French soldiers, to use in resisting the Germans that she had no money or time or energy for building any battleships. And Italy, too, was not a competitor. France and Italy were included in the treaty because they were strong and friendly nations of considerable naval strength, but not because they were in the race, for they weren't.

In the meantime each of the three chief naval Powers has the right to keep its navy up to the strength it had a year ago; and every American should make himself a committee of one to see that the United States does so. I am with Captain Knox and Commander Wygant on that.[1] Each country made a real sacrifice in stopping the naval race; and each country gained enormously also in stopping it. There is no present prospect that any one of them will start it again. That alone is enough to make the Conference a success.

But that is not the most important thing the Conference aimed at.

As I have just said, it was not chiefly a naval conference.

Armament is, after all, something external and material; and limiting armament is negative. The Conference aimed at something mental and moral, and something that was positive as well. And it hit that too. That was its big-

[1] See the opening sentence in Captain Knox's article in this issue of The Outlook.

[2] Commander Wygant's article, as well as Captain Knox's, is in this issue of The Outlook.

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gest success. You've probably overlooked it entirely.

P. S. C.—I confess I have.

P. C.—You are not to be blamed. Most people easily overlook invisible things.

P. S. C.—That's natural.

P. C.—I suppose so; but it oughtn't to be. And a press correspondent does not do his job well unless he enables people to see the invisible and to understand that it is only the invisible that is really important. Mr. Mark Sullivan is one of the ablest press correspondents in Washington. In some respects he is without an equal. I have known him to make some invisible things quite plain. But at the Washington Conference he seems to have failed to see the most important thing it was aiming at, perhaps because it was invisible. In his book "The Great Adventure at Washington," which records in most interesting fashion the doings of the Conference as he saw them,[3] he writes: "Our minds were intent" (he means his mind was) "upon what we regarded" (that is, what he regarded) "as the great adventure of the Conference, the immense historic effort to agree upon self-imposed limitations on naval armament;" which perhaps is not surprising; but near the end of his book he adds: "The questions of the Far East were not an essential part of that great adventure. They, to a large extent, were a subject apart." That's where Mr. Sullivan missed the invisible.

If every big naval Power understood the rest of the world and was itself understood, had no suspicion of other Powers and was itself unsuspected, regarded its naval power as a means not of aggression but of police protection solely, and entertained no idea of self-aggrandizement at the expense of others, there would be no need of a campaign for limiting naval armaments. What makes big navies dangerous is suspicion, misunderstanding, selfish and short-sighted ambition. The big navies are visible; but the danger lies in what is invisible behind them. And that is where the Far East comes in. That is what made the Far East not "a subject apart" from the Conference, but the most important and fundamental subject of all.

China and the Pacific Ocean have long been a storm center of international rivalry, a swirl of national ambitions. Russia, Germany, Great Britain, France, Japan, and even some of the smaller countries like Holland and Belgium, have contributed force to the storms in that vast region. In all these storms the chief victim, herself feeble and inert under the control of corrupt military chieftains, has been China. With such storms America at first had very little to do; but it happened that America became increasingly involved in them at the very time when the storms began blowing from the direction of Japan. Without knowing much about Far Eastern affairs, most Americans for several years were growing more and more suspicious of Japanese militarism and aggression; and at the same time the Japanese were becoming more and more unfriendly toward their old friend, America. This situation was not helped at all by the alliance between Japan and Great Britain; it was made very much worse by Japan's seizure of the German leasehold in the Chinese province of Shantung, by her imperious Twenty-one Demands upon China, and by her military occupation of Siberia when she was supposed to be acting as a partner of America in helping, and not subduing, the Russians. Under these circumstances, the talk about limiting naval armaments without removing the cause would have been frivolous. Now what has happened? Japan is out of Siberia. Did you see that in any scare heads in the newspapers?

P. S. C.—No, I missed that.

P. C.—For a very good reason. There weren't any scare heads. But Japan is out, just the same. Did you know that Japan was practically out of Shantung—not merely the port, but even out of the railway zone that runs all the way up into the interior of the province? And did you know that there has been a great internal change in Japanese government by which the old military control of Japan's foreign policies has been weakened and appears to be on the way toward removal altogether?

P. S. C.—To tell the truth, I haven't taken much interest in the internal politics in Japan.

P. C.—This isn't politics merely; it's a change in the spirit and tone of Japan in her relation to other countries. And you must have noticed the change in the feeling of Americans toward Japan. There is no such suspicion as there was a year ago last summer. And it's not Japan only. All the nations that were represented at the Washington Conference are in an entirely different relation to China and the Far East from that of a year ago. Don't misunderstand me. There is no golden age suddenly come on the world. There is no new world order; but there is all the difference between a condition in which war was threatening and a condition in which war is, to say the least, improbable. It's not merely the treaties that were adopted at the Washington Conference so much as the invisible spirit behind them that has changed the situation.

If the things that have occurred as a result of the Washington Conference had happened as a result of a war, the papers would have been full of them.

P. S. C.—You seem to think it is still a going concern?

P. C.—Yes, sir; with its stock way above par.

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

[3] The Great Adventure at Washington: The Story of the Conference. By Mark Sullivan. Illustrated by Joseph Cummings Chase. Doubleday, Page, & Co., New York. $2.50.

No other book that I know of gives so coherent and vivid a picture of the Washington Conference as this. Its emphasis on the naval features of the Conference, which renders it defective as an interpretation of the Conference, is one of its virtues as a picture of it. Mr. Sullivan's book is peculiarly free from signs of prejudice. His frankness is never clever or cynical, and therefore his honest judgment is such that even those participants in whom he finds defects may read his comments with interest and profit. He has succeeded admirably, not only in recording his own observations, but in selecting for quotation the comments of other observers. This book is not merely of contemporary interest, but is valuable as a source book for the historian. *It is not often that a useful historical document is as readable as this.* —E. H. A.

THE SPEAKABLE TURK

MUFTY-ZADE K. ZIA BEY, son of a former Turkish Ambassador and for ten years a resident of the United States, returned to Constantinople after the armistice, taking with him his American bride. As he professes, he "was anxious to show her his country, and in "Speaking of the Turks," just published by Duffield & Co., he seeks to do as much for us all.

Are Christians persecuted there? According to Zia Bey, "at the time of the conquest of Constantinople, Mehemet IV not only recognized the entire freedom of religion of the non-Turkish races, but even exempted them from all duties to the state. When it is realized that these privileges have survived nearly five long centuries, the stories of persecution will be considered as greatly exaggerated as the news of the death of Mark Twain." They are fabricated by missionaries and the Near East Relief, as "a well-managed campaign following an energetic propaganda by which Turks are represented as committing wholesale massacres and atrocities is always sure to bring substantial financial assistance for Armenians and Greeks, and incidentally to secure a longer lease of life to the jobs of all those employed in relief and missionary work."

However, the flow of money is "carefully canalized into Greek and Armenian channels alone. What difference does it make if hundreds of thousands of Turks are dying? We do not ask help. Why do not the foreigners take in their own homes their pet children, their cry-babies, and leave us alone to heal our wounds? Are they afraid that public opinion in their countries will—through direct contact—realize too soon the

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hypocrisy of their pets? . . . An old saying states that it takes one Jew to fool two Christians, one Armenian to fool two Jews, and one Greek to fool two Armenians." In business the Turk claims to have found this true. "As commerce, finance, and industry developed, the non-Turkish elements of the country obtained a solid economic grip and used it in their endeavors to choke the Turks."

Is there polygamy in Turkey? Or slavery? Zia Bey finds neither. Says he:

> This is a true narrative of Turkey and the Turks as they really are, so I have to speak the truth even at the risk of shattering many legends. I am bound, therefore, not to fall in line with the traditions established by other writers who never fail to refer to a servant in a Turkish household as being a "slave," and to the ladies of a Turkish family as being "wives." The truth is that slavery was not generally practised in Turkey even before the Civil War in America, and the "wives" referred to by most of the foreign writers either exist only in their imagination or else are the sisters, sisters-in-law, daughters, or cousins of the head of the family which foreign writers innocently or purposely represent as his wives. Of course there might be several wives in the same household—but not the wives of the same man.

Indeed, the status of women in Turkey is now all that any rational feminist could demand, for "the daily contact of Turkish women with the public during the war years resulted of course in tearing down the social walls which had so far secluded them. . . . The emancipation of Turkish women became complete."

Apparently Zia Bey has read "Haremlik," by Demetra Vaka (Mrs. Kenneth Brown), for, after paying his compliments to "the higher-class Greeks," who, though "not Venizelist enough to don a Greek uniform," maintain "a cunning and insidious propaganda," he remarks:

> To obtain the sympathy and the moral support of certain nations which, like America, are imbued with the spirit of fair play, some of their women write sweet articles where the keynote is the lovableness of the Turks individually, their innocence, their dearness, and their romanticism, cunningly interwoven with stories—supposed to be personal experiences—which emphasize in descriptions, if not in words, the ignorance of the Turks, their administrative or business incapacity, how they still practice slavery and polygamy, and how they commit political murder and atrocities. The broad-minded but misinformed public believes in these camouflaged false accusations because of the hypocritical profession of love interwoven with them.

The "broad-minded but misinformed public" should instead read Pierre Loti, he contends, and "if there is any one whose talent is equal to that of Pierre Loti and has the courage to publish his opinion, he can thoroughly count on all the help, assistanee, and gratitude of the whole Turkish race, much maligned in American literature."

Confusedly broad-minded is Zia Bey himself. In his chapter on Robert College he deplores its sectarianism and tells us, "Recognizing the one Almighty God and all his prophets, I never hesitated to go into any church of any denomination and raise my thoughts in prayer."

Coming from a "terrible" Turk, this may seem a bit odd, but are Turks in reality at all terrible? Says Zia Bey:

> An American lady—it being her first day in Constantinople and her imagination being full of all the horrid things she had heard about the Turks in America—was rather nervous until she met my wife, who breezed in to greet her in a perfectly American way. Needless to say that a short while after she was laughing with us at the reputation of being "terrible" which the Turks have abroad.

Queer logic this—as queer, almost, as that by which massacres become inventions of the Near East Relief, polygamy and slavery a "legend," the emancipation of Turkish women "complete," and Loti's romances a contribution to knowledge. Throughout "Speaking of the Turks" he proves too much, leaving the impression that he is aware of having his hands full and rather more. One cannot help wondering what was his sensation on again beholding Turkey after ten years' residence in America. Perhaps shame!

HOW HISTORY IS MADE

THE story I have to tell is not of any particular importance except in showing how history is made by the daily newspaper. Hundreds of thousands of modern readers get their sole impressions of political events and political characters from the daily press. They have no means of referring to original documents or state papers. There is a moral here for editors, which, however, I do not propose to draw. I merely wish to relate an incident of editorial misinformation which has come under my own observation. It is as significant, perhaps, as it is amusing.

On September 30 the New York "Times," a responsible and careful newspaper of the first class, published an editorial commenting on the surrender of the notorious Moroccan bandit, Raisuli. In the course of its editorial it made this positive statement, which on its face bears all the earmarks of being based on accurate and official knowledge. I have italicized the most important assertion:

> President Roosevelt may be said to have introduced the humorous knave [Raisuli] to the American people. Who can fail to remember that droll gesture of Mr. Roosevelt to the Republican party in convention at Chicago, "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead"?—a telegram prepared for transmission to the Sultan at Tangier, *but never sent.* It fixed attention upon the Republican Convention, it roused the country. "Just like Teddy!" was the admiring comment.

If the statement were true that President Roosevelt deliberately wrote a telegram, never intending to send it, for the purpose of bamboozling the American people in a Convention which he hoped would nominate him, the fact would automatically assign him to the most contemptible class of pot-house politicians. A friend of mine, holding a responsible official position in one of the most important financial institutions in this country, called my attention to this editorial statement of the "Times" with considerable anxiety. He is an admirer of Roosevelt's achievements and character, but if the statement by the "Times" were a historical fact he felt that it would shake his faith in a great American. I told him that I knew nothing more about the incident than was current in 1904, but that I would see what I could discover.

My first step was to go to George B. Cortelyou, now President of the Consolidated Gas Company of New York, and Secretary of Commerce, Postmaster-General, and Secretary of the Treasury under President Roosevelt. As a member of President Roosevelt's Cabinet I thought he might remember the circumstances under which the Raisuli telegram was written. He did remember, of course, the Raisuli episode, but could not, naturally, speak definitely of dates or details after a lapse of eighteen years. He suggested seeing William Loeb, Jr. Mr. Loeb was Secretary to President Roosevelt from 1903 to 1909; was later Collector of the Port of New York; and is now an executive of the American Smelting and Refining Company. Somewhat later, at a Committee meeting of the Roosevelt National Memorial Association, of which Mr. Loeb and I are both members, I told him of my quest. He recollected the incident very well, and remembered Roosevelt's asking Mr. Hay in his presence to cable to the American Consul at Tangier, "We want Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead." Mr. Loeb added that he always supposed the

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cablegram was sent, but it might be conceivable that before it was coded and despatched Perdicaris was surrendered. Mr. Loeb further suggested that Mr. Adee, who has been Assistant Secretary of State since 1886, and who is probably as familiar with the historical records of the State Department as any living man, might be able to furnish exact information. In the meantime, at this Committee meeting of the Roosevelt Memorial Association, its Executive Secretary, Mr. Hermann Hagedorn, suggested that the "Life and Letters of John Hay," by William Roscoe Thayer, would undoubtedly refer to the Perdicaris affair. We got a copy of the "Life of Hay" from the Association's library, and found in Volume II, on page 383, the following:

> One example of Secretary Hay's success in securing immediate attention to an ultimatum occurred in June, 1904, when an American citizen, Ion H. Perdicaris, was seized by Raizuli, a Moroccan bandit, and held for a ransom. After much shilly-shallying, and threats by Raizuli that he would kill his prisoner unless the money was speedily paid, Hay cabled to Gummeré, the American Consul at Tangier, June 22: "We want Perdicaris alive or Raizuli dead:" adding that "he [Gummeré] was not to commit us about landing marines or seizing custom house."
>
> "June 23. My telegram to Gummeré had an uncalled-for success. It is curious how a concise impropriety hits the public.
>
> "June 24. Gummeré telegraphs that he expects Perdicaris to-night.
>
> "June 27. Perdicaris wires his thanks."
>
> So speedily did even a brigand, apparently safe in the depths of Morocco, recognize the note of command in the voice from overseas.

What Mr. Hay meant by a "concise impropriety" is probably an allusion to the very undiplomatic but very delightful and effective language of the phrase, "We want Perdicaris alive or Raizuli dead."

The proof now seemed pretty complete that the telegram, which the "Times" asserts was never sent, was actually sent. But I wanted to clinch the matter. I therefore wrote to Mr. Adee on November 23, inclosing the "Times" editorial, and saying:

> At Mr. Loeb's suggestion, I am writing to you to know whether there are any records to show whether the cablegram was actually despatched or not. Mr. Loeb thinks there is a very remote possibility that before the message was coded and despatched, word may have come in of the return of Perdicaris, which made the actual telegraphing of the message unnecessary. I hesitate to add to your burdens, but as a matter of historical accuracy I think these facts may be of some interest.

Apparently the question was considered by Mr. Adee of sufficient importance to refer to the Secretary of State, for on November 29 Mr. Hughes himself replied as follows:

"My dear Mr. Abbott:

"I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of November 23, 1922, enclosing a copy of an editorial article in the New York 'Times' of September 30, in which it is stated that the telegram containing the expression 'Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead' was prepared but never sent by the Department. You wish to know whether the telegram was actually despatched.

"On June 22, 1904, the following telegram was sent to the American Minister at Tangier, Morocco:

> We want Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead. Further than this we desire least possible complications with Morocco or other powers. You will not arrange for landing marines or seizing custom house without specific directions from this Department.
>
> (signed) HAY.

"A paraphrase of this telegram is printed in the 1904 volume of 'Foreign Relations,' page 503.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) CHARLES E. HUGHES."

Perhaps it may seem that a good deal of unnecessary detail is given in the foregoing relation, but each link of the procedure is purposely presented as an indication that even newspapers, when they try to make history, can by a little painstaking get the exact facts. It may be added that the distinguished statesman who presided at the Republican Convention of 1904, when Roosevelt was practically nominated by acclamation, said to me that the "Times" implication that the Perdicaris cablegram was written for the purpose of arousing enthusiasm at the Convention is grotesque. He added that not only was it unnecessary for Mr. Roosevelt to write a telegram to arouse enthusiasm in his behalf, but that no telegram from him could possibly have stopped the enthusiasm or hindered his nomination.

Since this article is written in behalf of accuracy, it should be said that if the name of the Moroccan bandit is spelled with an "s" in one place and with a "z" in another, it is not the proof-reader's fault. The State Department and the New International Encyclopædia prefer the former spelling, while Mr. Thayer prefers the latter. The "Times" version of the incident, however, is just as dead as Raisuli would have been if he had not heeded President Roosevelt's "droll gesture" in behalf of American rights.

L. F. A.

PIERCE BUTLER, NOMINEE FOR THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM MINNESOTA BY H. A. BELLOWS

FOUR or five years ago it is probable that the entire Northwest would have regarded the appointment of Pierce Butler, of St. Paul, to the Supreme Court of the United States with the kind of satisfaction that ordinarily accompanies gratified local pride. It would have felt that in thus recognizing the Northwest's foremost lawyer the President had shown both wisdom in his choice of an able man and good judgment in acknowledging the claims of a part of the country not previously represented in the Nation's highest tribunal.

Even as little as six or eight weeks ago, it seems unlikely that the appointment would have created much active protest. November 7, however, exercised a profound influence in the Northwest, less on the thoughts of men and women than on their readiness to translate these thoughts into action. The victory of La Follette in Wisconsin, the triumph of the once-repudiated Frazier in North Dakota, and, above all, the defeat of Kellogg by Shipstead in Minnesota—these things have sharply intensified the zeal of all the elements in the Northwest opposed to conservatism.

Thus it has come about that the ap pointment of Pierce Butler was the sig nal for a double outcry in his own State—an outcry of enthusiastic ap plause on the part of Republican and Democratic leaders alike and on the par of the State bar and bench generally; a outcry of bitter indignation on the par of those whose votes had just electe Henrik Shipstead to the Senate.

A general Northwestern estimate o Mr. Butler would unquestionably plac him in the same category with Senato Kellogg. Both are prominent corpora tion lawyers in St. Paul, and the agri

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cultural population of the Northwest has little love for corporations, lawyers, or the cities. Minnesota having just voted to unseat Senator Kellogg in favor of a dentist representing the Farmer-Labor party, the feeling in certain quarters regarding Mr. Butler's appointment is only a little less violent than it would have been if President Harding had appointed Senator Kellogg himself to the vacancy.

The opposition has taken specific form in many editorials in the labor press, in protests to Senators, and, above all, in a long letter to Senators Ladd and La Follette from an anonymous professor in the University of Minnesota. This letter charges Mr. Butler with unfitness for a high judicial position on the grounds of violent prejudices, high-handed and domineering methods, and what the critic regards as an excess of devotion to the cause of his clients, sometimes leading him to disregard the ethical if not the legal principles of justice.

Sifted down, these charges amount to this: that Mr. Butler has always been a man of vigorous action, absolutely fearless, and at times relentless in doing what he believed to be right, and that he is an extraordinarily able lawyer. For fifteen years he has been one of the regents of the University of Minnesota, and because he has steadfastly resisted shilly-shallying sentimentality on the one hand and political wire-pulling on the other he has won many enemies through his distinguished service to the State.

Once Mr. Butler has clearly made up his mind as to what ought to be done, he has repeatedly shown an indomitable will in bringing it to pass, and this has naturally created among his enemies a tradition as to his violent prejudices. But his whole career as a regent of the University bears testimony to his invariable willingness to hear all sides of every controversy and his zeal in studying it from every possible angle before making up his mind.

Keystone

PIERCE BUTLER, NOMINATED FOR SUPREME COURT JUSTICE

As a lawyer Mr. Butler has done his work well—too well, his opponents argue. He has been a shrewd and zealous advocate; does that fact unfit him for being an impartial and wise judge? Those who make such a claim challenge the whole theory of appointing lawyers to the bench. Mr. Butler's integrity has never been seriously questioned; the objection made by his enemies is simply that he has served his clients too well.

In answer to this, it may be pointed out that some of his most important clients have been the people themselves. Shortly after his admission to the bar he became assistant county attorney for Ramsey County, in which St. Paul is situated, and two years later, in 1893, he was elected county attorney. In 1909 he was appointed Special Attorney-General for the Government by Attorney-General Wickersham in the prosecution of the bleached flour cases, and again in 1911 in connection with the criminal prosecution of the Chicago meat packers for violation of the Sherman Act. Two years ago he was retained by the Canadian Government as counsel in its proceedings to determine the price to be paid to the Grand Trunk Railroad when its properties were taken over.

On the other side, he was for some years general attorney for the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railroad, and from 1913 to 1918 he was counsel for the conference committee of the railways in connection with their physical valuation. Most of his work for the past twenty-four years has been in the general practice of law.

In his own State Republicans and Democrats have united, almost without exception, in commending the appointment. They feel that he has amply proved his ability as a lawyer, and, far more than that, his sound wisdom, his courage, and his high ideals of public service. Nearly every one who knows him personally believes that he can serve the country, as for fifteen years he has served the State University, impartially, fearlessly, and wisely. A great many people throughout the Northwest, however, regard his appointment as a direct blow to those who have just succeeded in electing Frazier and Shipstead to the Senate. They object to him, not for the reasons alleged in most of the published protests, but because, as a St. Paul corporation lawyer, they link his name with that of his fellow-citizen and friend, Frank B. Kellogg.

Minneapolis, Minnesota, December 1, 1922.

CUNO'S CABINET

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM BARON SERGE A. KORFF

IT is a decidedly new departure for Germany to have Mr. Cuno form his Cabinet of non-partisan Ministers. Perhaps it is also a departure from the classical forms of parliamentarism. The Cabinet of Wirth was still composed on the old lines; the parties of the majority selected their representatives to make up the Government, and, as so often happens with parliamentary coalitions, they were able to keep the power in their hands for only a short period. The position of Wirth was made a trifle stronger than he really deserved only on account of Germany's international plight. The break-up, however deferred, had finally to come. Neither Wirth nor his colleagues could hold the parties together any more.

The reason is easy to find. Germany is living through a severe internal crisis. Her social structure, put out of joint by the war, is being readjusted and reshaped, and mostly at the expense of the middle classes. The war, the painful peace that followed, recent profiteering, the fabulous drop of the mark, all that tended to produce new social elements, and this in turn increased the social struggle, intensifying the claims of the two extremes; the monarchists assiduously work for restoration and possibly vengeance, the Socialists had to revise their own programme according to the new conditions and digest the disappointment of the Russian experiment. In this last respect one can notice great progress made by the Socialist leaders of Germany, which brought about the remarkable reunion of the Socialist factions; the extreme radical elements have realized their mistaken position, built exclusively on the hopes of being able some day to follow the example of Lenine; they have come back into the fold of their former companions-in-arms, the majority Socialists. This in turn increased enormously the power of the latter, and a clash with the *bourgeois* parties became inevitable, upsetting the weak Cabinet of Wirth.

Under these circumstances, nothing was left for President Ebert but to call in an outsider, some person who would be free from party allegiance and who would be able to form and run a government on non-partisan lines, a so-called "business" Cabinet. This promised a little more stability and it promised a better chance for tiding Germany over the crisis.

Cuno's position will be nevertheless an

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extremely difficult one; he won't have many friends anywhere; he will be harassed by enemies and opponents from all sides, and probably deluged by all sorts of foolish criticism. Yet he has a good chance. He is himself a moderate business man, sufficiently experienced and cool-headed to attend to the business side of the Government work; the administration of the country will probably run smoothly, conducted on strictly non-partisan lines. This in itself is a great advantage, leaving more time for the Government to concentrate its attention on the main political problems that are now distracting Germany.

There is no doubt, however, that in this last respect Cuno is confronted with a formidable array of difficulties. First, there is the pressing French claim for reparation payments; will Cuno be able to press out of the people the necessary money? Secondly, there comes the problem of the falling mark; will the new Government be able to find means to stop it and, in particular, to curb those elements that endeavor to create artificial causes for the further decline of the mark? Thirdly, Germany needs badly to revise her international relations; in this respect Cuno has an easier task; he will have to concentrate his attention on the relations to England and Russia, and a certain co-operation in both cases seems inevitable. And, fourthly, the greatest problem of the day constitutes the internal social struggle and the necessity of finding means to avoid a monarchical restoration, to restrain obstreperous Bavaria, and save the German federal union. Will Cuno succeed in this, his most difficult task? Only the future can tell; the difficulties, no doubt, are in some ways overwhelming and the present outlook rather discouraging, but certainly not hopeless. A satisfactory solution, on which, by the way, the peace of Europe depends very much, will be found only on condition that Cuno proves strong enough and sufficiently tactful. His first steps are quite promising in both respects.

Washington, D. C.

P. & A. Photos

WILLIAM CUNO, THE NEW GERMAN CHANCELLOR, LEAVING THE REICHSTAG IN BERLIN

FASCISM IN ITALY

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM ELBERT FRANCIS BALDWIN

SOME months ago, during the Cannes Conference, in this excellent Hôtel Suisse, lived one Benito Mussolini. He is now Prime Minister of Italy.

The hotel proprietor, M. Keller, has been telling me about him, as follows: "He has ambition and pride. He will go far. Those who think they see in him only a passing phase will find themselves mistaken. He knows his Italy too well for that. . . . I see that he has come out for loyal support for the King. That is good. But he did not impress me as very strong on that side. Perhaps you could hardly expect it from an ex-Extreme Socialist."

Benito Mussolini, the son of a blacksmith and Socialist of the Italian Romagna, was born at Doria, in the province of Forli, about forty years ago, and so from his earliest years he knew that Fiume lay across the Adriatic. He began his work-days as apprentice to a stonemason. In addition to being a stonemason himself, he has been a gardener, a weaver, a railway porter, a violinist, a fencer, a Socialist agitator, an editor, a soldier in the Alpini ranks, and, finally, the founder of the Fascisti.

This party takes its name from the *fasces*, or bundle of rods bound together, borne by or in front of officials of the old Roman Republic and Empire, as symbols of their power in imposing law and order.

Mussolini's early course had been rather in agitation for resistance to law and order. His professions of extreme Socialism, not to say Communism, his publication at Lugano, Switzerland, of an incendiary sheet, "L'Avvenire del Lavoratore" (the Future of the Workingman), and his alleged extra-legal course earned for him a decree of expulsion. This was the more significant as the Swiss Government has been the most tolerant of any in affording a refuge to extremists of all sorts. From Switzerland Mussolini went to Germany and Austria, and, returning to Italy (1910), founded a weekly paper, "La Lotta di Classe" (Class Conflict).

From these vagabond years it is a relief to turn to Mussolini's more inspiring war record.

That record really began long before Italy entered the war. It dates from Mussolini's meeting in Austria with Cesare Battisti, the Italian patriot and martyr of the Trentino, then under Austrian sovereignty. Mussolini's fiery revolutionary soul now began to be awakened by a new cause—that of Nationalism, pure and simple. He even published a book (1908) about it and the Trentino.

His curiously mingled ideas of Socialism and Nationalism were seen four years later when, in Italy, he fulminated against the Tripolitan war and was imprisoned for it, while in 1914 we find him at the head of the Red Week Revolution in the Romagna, which apparently endangered the throne itself.

Later in the year the World War began. Italy was out of it, but Mussolini did not propose that she should remain out of it. He now founded his third journal, the "Popolo d'Italia," so that he might have a militant organ for combating the propaganda of the powerful Socialist "Avanti," which favored continued Italian neutrality, thus playing into Germany's hands. Mussolini, on the contrary, advocated Italian intervention on the Entente side.

In the war itself he was wounded at Cividale (1916). And when the war ended it found him as violently Nationalist as he had been Socialist before. He had not to wait long for an opportunity to show the fervor of the change which animated him.

The occasion arose in this wise. After the war the extreme Socialists rose to unprecedented power. It finally became so great that in Turin and other industrial centers they actually seized factories and workshops from their lawful proprietors and managers and themselves tried to run those factories and workshops. There could be but one end to this. It almost seemed as if Russia's tragic experiences were going to be reproduced in Italy. A long period of unrest now occurred, and it took the clever Giolitti ultimately to bring the extremists to economic reason.

But, though at the time the world did not realize it, more than economic reason was involved. Despite the brilliant Italian army triumphs at the end of the war, the social revolutionaries, not content with their ghastly disintegrating influence at the time of the Caporetto disaster, now began openly to show, not only indifference to the army, but often contempt and even hostility. If such an attitude could once have been accepted by the Communist Mussolini, it could no longer be accepted by the Nationalist Mussolini. What! was this the attitude that for one moment could be shown towards an army that by its victory at Vittorio Veneto, by the armistice it compelled Austria to sign (four years ago this very day!), had utterly vanquished its foe of centuries, had redeemed what

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had too long been Italia Irredenta, and had bound together all Italian patriots as never before?

Such an amazing attitude was of course intolerable to these patriots. Mussolini instantly found that it was intolerable to him too. From the moment (1919) when he first observed it, his burning passion for unpatriotic, Communistic, revolutionary ideas definitely capitulated before his vision of a patriotic counter-organization. The project gradually took form in his mind. It was to be a great irregular citizen army, to back up the regular army in every way, to be its friend and propagandist, and as well to back up the officers of the civil law by ruthless deeds of violence, if necessary, whenever the administration of those officers seemed weak.

At first Mussolini called his new organization the "Fascio della Vittoria," because he wanted to emphasize the army's victory and to influence respect for that victory. But as circumstances and time went on, and the new organization was itself a long way from victory, he changed its name to "Fascio di Combattimento."

The first meeting was held in a school house and was attended by hardly a hundred persons. Socialist and Communist as he had been, Mussolini had the sense nevertheless now to appeal especially to the middle classes. His instinct proved to be sound, for they received the appeal with fewer misgivings than did the lower classes. Little by little, however, Mussolini captured the imagination of increasing numbers and assured himself of their support. He also found support in a high quarter, for Premier Giolitti himself was delighted to discover some patriotic offset to unpatriotic Bolshevism.

Mussolini organized his followers like an army, and in this availed himself of the services of regular retired officers. He even organized the special services of arms, ambulance, aviation, and supply.

He had of course to contend with the "lunatic fringe" found on the skirts of every reform movement. These lunatic followers often got out of hand. They frequently made punishments worse than the original crimes. Burnings and murders by Communists were avenged by worse burnings and murders by Fascisti. Now and then there came along such a burlesque as yesterday's, when a crowd of Fascisti seized the secretary of a Communist society in Rome, shaved his head bare, painted thereon the green, white, and red of the Italian flag, and paraded him up and down the Corso.

Yet, despite all their self-assumed power and its often criminal exercise, the Fascisti grew until they numbered many hundreds of thousands and enjoyed more than proportionate power. For instance, two years have sufficed to reduce the Italian Bolsheviki, and last summer when the Socialists declared a nation-wide strike in all industries the Fascisti put it down in twenty-four hours. They thus saved Italy at a critical time.

Dazzled by success, they began to go further. By brute force they deposed lawfully constituted civil authorities from their seats. Whole municipal administrations were then seized, as in Bolzano, Trent Pavia, three weeks ago. They entered the barracks and magazines and helped themselves to arms and ammunition with surprisingly little difficulty—the army had long regarded them with a generally benevolent eye.

Then we heard that they were going to march on Rome. Most persons doubted that they really would. But they did—thousands and thousands of them in black shirts (the emblem of rebellion), flags and banners flying, bands playing.

And when they arrived, lo! all the political parties but theirs had apparently melted away before their display of force, and even the police were noticeable by their absence, while there was the King himself asking the Fascisti chief to form a Cabinet!

Whatever his previous experiences have been, Benito Mussolini has had no experience in governmental administration. This fact, combined with his youth and his career as a revolutionary agitator, filled all law-abiding citizens with grave fears as they witnessed the astounding spectacle of a constitutional monarch handing the reins of government to such a one.

Two things have saved the situation. Victor Emmanuel is wise and courageous to a very remarkable degree, and the new Premier, still in his rebel's black shirt, showed a sudden realization of what the crisis really meant, and instantly acted in accordance with that realization. He had the acumen to see that in order to awaken complete popular confidence his Cabinet must not consist of Fascisti exclusively. Accordingly, he invited, not only some men of other parties, but some very authoritative personages. He actually dared ask Armando Diaz, the head of the army, to become Minister of War, and a great admiral, Thaon di Revel, to become Minister of the Navy. Doubtless acting under royal pressure, these men accepted. To be Minister of Public Instruction he secured Giovanni Gentile, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Rome, and those well informed concerning educational problems in Italy say that a better choice could not have been made. Perhaps the same might be said of Teofilo Rossi, whom I saw and admired at the Genoa Conference, and who now becomes Minister of the Treasury. The Mussolini Cabinet, therefore, though overwhelmingly and in some cases ridiculously Fascist, contains not only representatives from the Democratic, Liberal, Popular (Catholic), and other parties—no Socialists, however!—but, what is much more, contains some men whose names are accepted by many as sufficient pledges for the country's security and welfare.

For the present this is all very well in its way. But what of the future?

What are we to expect from Mussolini's domestic policy when he imprudently and impudently begins by seizing newspaper offices—especially that of the Milan "Corriere della Sera," the paper having deservedly the widest circulation of any in Italy, a paper whose loyalty, broad vision, and moderation have never been doubted?

And what are we to expect from Mussolini's foreign policy if, following that outlined in his own editorials in the "Popolo d'Italia," he acts aggressively against England and France in the Mediterranean? Or against Jugoslavia, as one may gather from his utterances a few days ago that Fiume and Dalmatia should not despair but confidently await their redemption? Yet Mussolini knows as well as any one that Italy by treaty has pledged herself to respect the sovereignty of the Free State of Fiume.

Let us hope that the responsibilities of high office will give Mussolini something more of an "international mind" and, above all, lessen his indifference to constitutional forms of government, so that Bolshevism, which at one time might very well have looked towards him as its potential leader in Italy, will now find in him more than ever a stern foe.

Fascism is unlike the forms of most other revolutionary movements. Certainly in our latter-day history it stands unique. As the new Premier remarked the other day at the Naples Conference of his party: "Fascism is the most interesting, the most orginal, and the most powerful phenomenon that has appeared in the world since the war."

Interesting? Yes.

Original? Yes.

Powerful? Yes; but will the Mussolini Cabinet last? To this question from me to-day a local banker with interests in Italy replied, "It may last six weeks." Another man declared, "It will last six months."

We shall see. Whether weeks or months, may no bloodshed stain its course or mark its administrative transformation into something else!

After all, the Mussolini Cabinet is but the temporary outward sign of an inward strengthening. That strengthening of determination to will and to do must remain, in the opinion of all of us who heartily join with the Italians in the cry of "Viva l'Italia!"

But to obtain this permanent result many Fascisti will have to revise a fundamental misconception; the deeds of a dictatorship imposed by force are not the deeds of a government of all the people established by law. And all Italians may remember that a revolution under the guise of ruthless enforcement of law may lead to as much ultimate tyranny and disintegration as would a revolution merely inspired by the desire for greater freedom.

Cannes, France.

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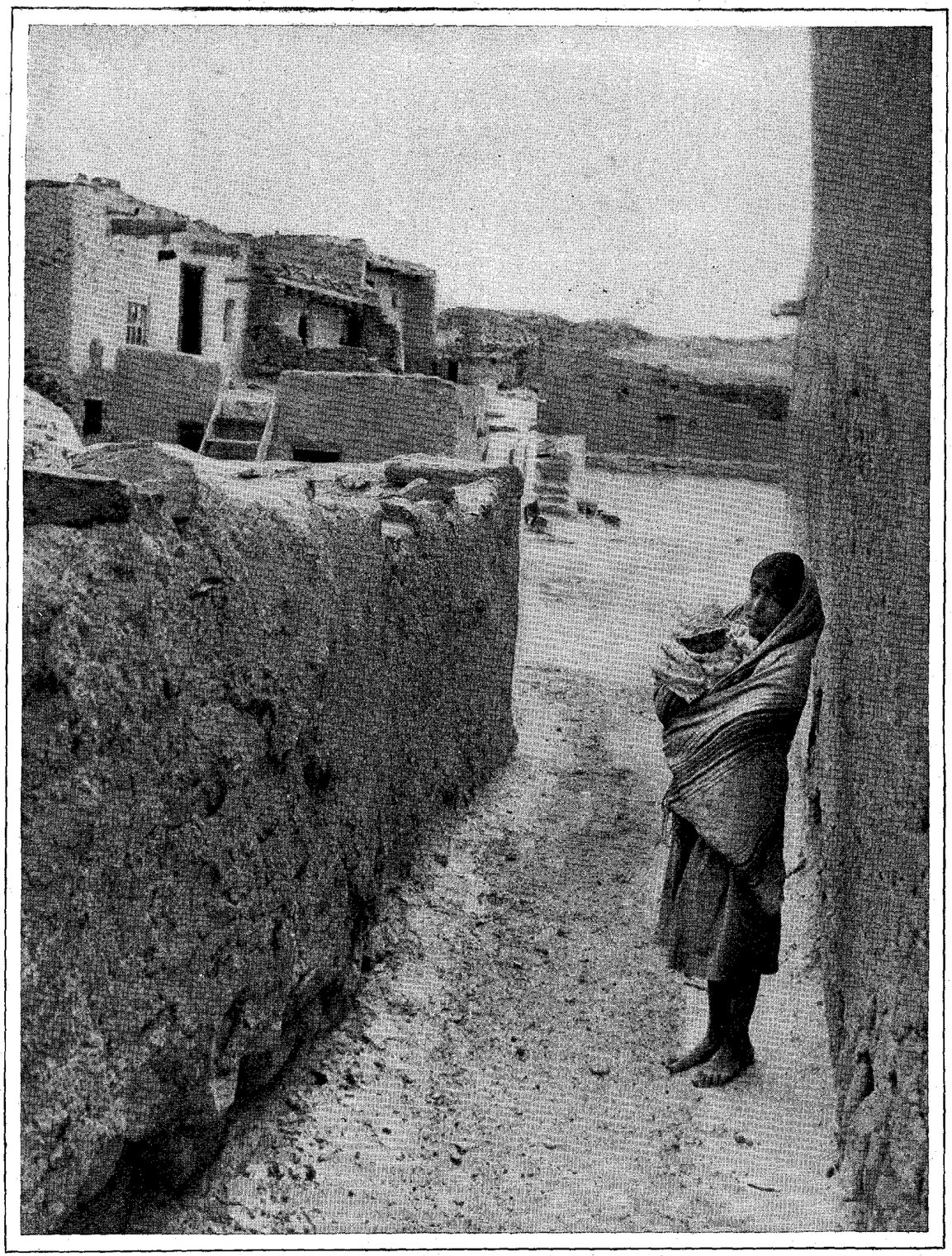
INDIAN LIFE MENACED



(C) Ewing Galloway, New York

A "LITTLE MOTHER" IN THE LAGUNA PUEBLO, NEW MEXICO

Last week The Outlook told the story of the Bursum Bill, which menaced the civilization of our Indians in the Southwest. This bill was slipped through the Senate under a misapprehension of its pur-

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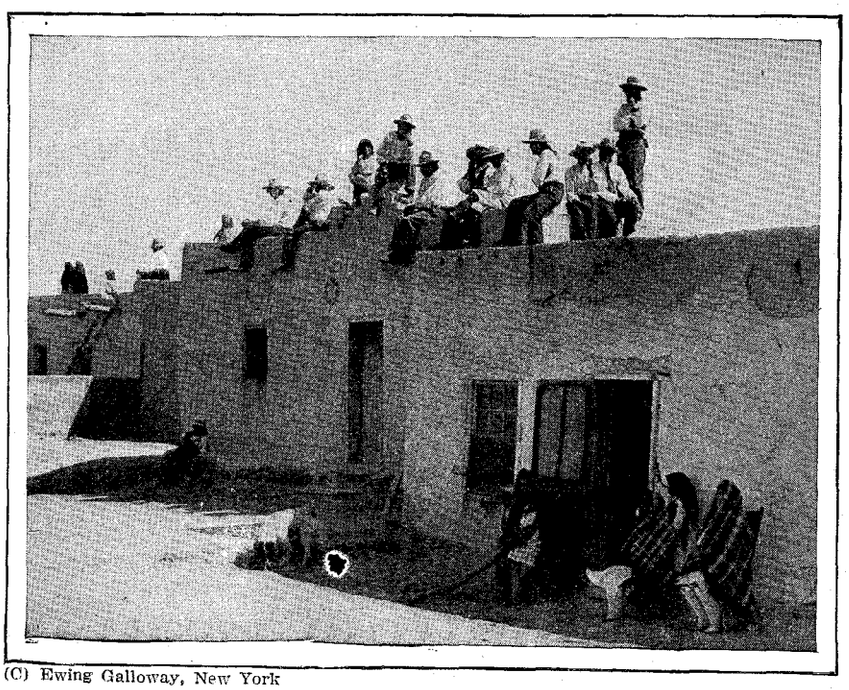
BY THE BURSUM BILL

Courtesy Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

WINNOWING BEANS IN THE PUEBLO AT ZUNI, NEW MEXICO

Courtesy Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

ZUNI INDIANS THRESHING WITH MODERN APPLIANCES



(C) Ewing Galloway, New York

HOPI INDIANS AT ISLETA PUEBLO, NEW MEXICO

pose. It has now, we are glad to say, been recalled from the House of Representatives, to which it had been sent, because an aroused public opinion made evident its unjust and oppressive character

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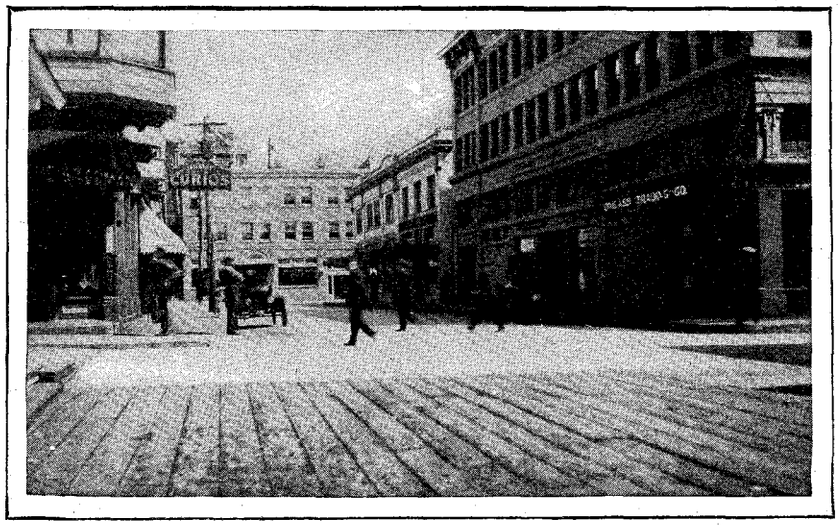
THE TREASURE-HOUSE OF SOUTHEASTERN ALASKA

BY SHERMAN ROGERS

INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK



A STREET IN KETCHIKAN

TAKE the Thousand Islands in the St. Lawrence, put a few mountains on them, and you have a southeastern Alaska setting. The landscape from Ketchikan to Cape Spencer, and, for that matter, to Resurrection Bay, has no equal in the world for scenic beauty. I have met several world-renowned globe-trotters who have assured me, in no uncertain terms, that the tourist can see more wonderful, matchless scenery of every description in Alaska in a three-week trip than could be seen in a year's world tour.

I want the reader to bear one thing in mind throughout this article, and that is the striking accessibility of the entire southeastern section to the markets of the world. Ketchikan, Alaska, is a trifle over six hundred miles north of Seattle, Washington, and enjoys practically the same climate. The steamships now plying the Alaskan route easily make the trip in two days. The fast Atlantic greyhounds would make it in twenty-four hours.

Southeastern Alaska is composed of numerous islands, heavily timbered with a very thick growth of spruce and hemlock, and in the extreme southern section considerable yellow cedar of excellent quality. This section of the Territory—an empire in itself—is endowed with wonderful harbors and conveniently located waterfalls, sufficient to guarantee cheap hydroelectric power for pulp and paper mills and other manufactories.

I have, since I returned from Alaska, put the query to men in all walks of life from bank president down to newsboys, and I haven't as yet received an intelligent answer regarding the accessibility of the southeastern empire. The first man I spoke to was the president of one of the largest banks in New York. When I told him that a thirteen-knot boat reached Ketchikan in two days from Seattle, he nearly fainted. "Why," he blurted out, "I thought Alaska was almost totally inaccessible, and that it was actually situated on top of the world!"

From Ketchikan north to Cape Spencer is about four hundred miles. The principal resources of the territory embraced are pulp timber, fish, and mines of various kinds. That doesn't mean that the resources are restricted to these three elements. Practically every natural resource of the North American Continent will be found in commercial quantities in this section. A large portion of the timber is ripe, and overripe, and the pressing necessity at this time is the establishment of pulp and paper mills to take advantage of the rapid growth. At the same time the number of mills must be restricted, and will be restricted to guarantee a perpetual supply of pulp timber. As near as has been figured out up to the present, the forests of Alaska will furnish two million cords of pulp wood a year for all time, which would amount to more than a third of the total amount of news print paper used in the United States.

There is no section of North America so practically situated for natural reforestation. The rainfall is sufficient to preclude all possibility of forest fires, and the annual growth is tremendous. The forestry laws of Alaska are regulated so as to prevent the cutting of small timber, and, as a natural result, about every fifty years the areas cut over will be entirely reforested. In fact, the cutting of large timber will enhance the growth of young trees.

The Alaskan Forestry Bureau up to May, 1920, was hopelessly tied up with red tape, when the Forestry Service modified their Alaskan timber regulations, and on January 1, 1921, the Forestry Service established an Alaskan Division, with headquarters at Juneau. Prior to that time the Forestry Service was more or less stifled under endless red tape, due to the fact that the Forestry office in charge was situated in Portland, Oregon. At the present time fully ninety-eight per cent of forestry affairs are handled in Juneau by Charles H. Flory, Forester in charge. He has complete control of cruising, plotting, sales contracts, and is not hampered in his operations by the head office in Washington. Only major details of large contracts are referred to the Washington office, and even in that case the recommendations of the Chief Forester are adhered to. Mr. Flory is one of the most efficient timber men I have met in many a day. He knows his business, is intensely practical, cuts red tape to the bone, and his whole heart and soul are wrapped up in the securing of substantial pulp and paper mills near the great Alaskan water-power projects. There is nothing hazy about his ideas—nothing impractical about the timber development policies he advocates. He realizes, as every one familiar with Alaskan timber resources does, that the southeastern section of our northern empire is the coming Mecca of cheap paper manufacturing. He realizes, at the same time, that every year of delay in securing these mills means a heavy loss, not only to the progress and prosperity of Alaska, but also to the taxpayers of the United States, who would greatly benefit through stumpage sales.

I fully agree with Mr. Flory regarding the accessibility, quantity, and quality of pulp timber covering the islands from Ketchikan to Skagway. There is no place on the American Continent where logging operations can be carried on so cheaply, due to the remarkably short distances from timber to salt water and the proximity of all timbered areas to ample water power.

I spent ten days tramping over part of the timbered area of Admiralty Island, which doesn't contain the best Alaskan pulp timber, by any means. I was amazed at the size and quality of the spruce; trees sound as a bullet and six feet in diameter were not uncommon, and one of the main tracts I looked over contained a large area that would cruise better than one hundred thousand feet to the acre. I found the timber thicker and larger than that of the famous northern Idaho pine belt. One small tract of twelve hundred acres, situated directly on the shores of a natural harbor, contained between forty and fifty million feet of wonderful clean timber, averaging about fifty per cent spruce,

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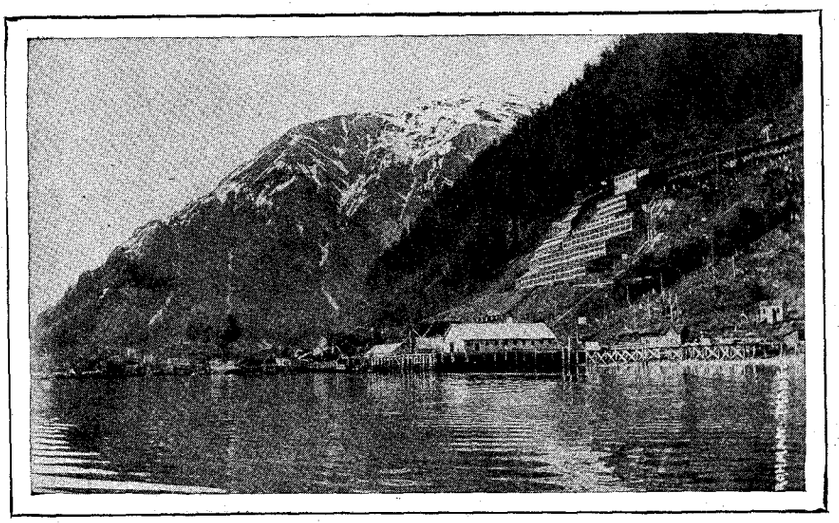
and the balance hemlock. Certainly few tracts in the famous northern Idaho timbered areas, or that of northern Wisconsin, Michigan, or Minnesota, originally contained so heavy a stand of timber. To be sure, the Great Lakes and Idaho timber carry "quality" that is not encountered in Alaska, yet for paper manufacturing I do not believe that southeastern Alaska timber can be duplicated, taking into consideration easy logging, a climate permitting all-year operations, extremely cheap stumpage, large quantity, and natural cheap water power. Any doubt as to the success of pulp and paper manufacture could be quickly dispelled by crossing the narrow straits to the British Columbia side, where several large pulp and paper concerns have made a signal success, not only of paper manufacture, but of successfully competing in the world markets. Seattle newspapers, and, in fact, nearly all Pacific coast dailies, are turned out on paper purchased from British Columbia manufacturers, whose supply is identical with southeastern Alaska pulp timber, and carries the same transportation rates. In fact, an official of a British Columbia paper mill assured me that southeastern Alaska was better situated than the district he drew his supply from, from every standpoint.

It is easy for the theorist to howl that transportation eliminates Alaska from the pulp field. Statements of that kind make good copy. The only trouble is that, like all other academic theories, they don't hold water. The success of the great pulp mills on the British Columbia coast silences every argument of pessimistic theorists regarding the practicability of paper manufacture in Alaska.

I don't blame any paper manufacturer for having refused to go into southeastern Alaska under the red tape conditions existing in the Alaska Forestry Bureau up to January 1, 1921. Since that date there has been a small pulp mill established in Alaska. At the present time several large companies are negotiating for substantial areas of timber, with the intention of erecting pulp and paper mills.

During the entire year the Forestry Service has expended every effort to cruise and allocate timber in accordance with requests it has already received for desirable timber tracts.

There is one clause in the timber contract, as stated in my first article, that has proved a stumbling-block, but this clause will, in all probability, be removed shortly. However, there are desirable features in the Forestry rules and regulations that are not only reasonable, but give the operator advantages that he would not have through private purchase. In the first place, when the intended purchaser applies for a tract of pulp timber the Forestry Service picks out a water-power project, and then allocates to the intended purchaser all timber adjacent to the power. He is given a contract for thirty years, with fifteen more years additional, if necessary, to carry out operations. The Government really carries the burden, as the timber does not have to be paid for until ready to cut, relieving operators of tremendous outlays of money for stumpage purposes. This eliminates payment of taxes, and, although the stumpage rates are adjusted every five years, in all probability the increased stumpage will not amount to more than, if as much as, accrued taxes on privately owned timber. It gives a company the opportunity of using all its money for manufacturing purposes instead of having millions tied up in stumpage.



A GOLD-MINING COMPANY'S PLANT AT JUNEAU

We will take, for example, one of the large tracts that is now being surveyed and advertised. This tract contains two billion feet, and is directly adjacent to a wonderful water-power project, with a natural harbor and excellent mill site. To purchase this amount of timber on outside sale would necessitate an outlay of at least $2,000,000. As only a nominal deposit is required, the tremendous saving to an operating company is patent, especially when the operator is relieved of the tax burden. No taxes and no stumpage outlay for uncut timber are certainly worthy of the careful consideration of any legitimate concern.

Quite true, there is one clause that does not appeal to American pulp manufacturers. I have talked to many of them. They have frankly assured me that they were greatly interested in Alaska forest products. They were quite satisfied with the Government contract—up to the clause I described in my last article, namely, that the Chief Forester has the sole power to name the new stumpage rate every five years. Quite true, he must base the new price on sales that have actually been made during the five years of other Alaskan timber. This undoubtedly is a protection, but large operators have pointed out that it leaves ground for irritating discrimination, especially if the operating company should have in the meantime incurred the prejudice of the Chief Forester for either real or fancied reasons.

Proof of the pudding is generally in the eating. The radical changes in the Forestry policy in Alaska are brought to light when interviewing sawmillers and loggers engaged in the manufacture of lumber in various parts of southeastern Alaska. While the sawmills are small, they have taken care of Alaskan needs, and this year have exported several million feet of timber to foreign markets.

The remarks of the managers and owners of the mills are interesting. They assured me that under the old system, before the Forestry office was established in Juneau, the delays and red tape tied around practically every business transaction were very discouraging. I was assured, however, by every actual operator I talked with in Alaska that under the present system they could ask for no better treatment, and that they really fared as well as if they owned the timber outright. They received co-operation from the Forestry Service that was worth a great deal to them. The red tape had been almost entirely eliminated, and of course from the standpoint of small business, where thousands were invested instead of millions, they were not so deeply concerned over the arbitration clause. The lumbermen frankly declared unstinted admiration for the caliber of the men in the Alaskan Forestry Bureau from a standpoint of judgment, efficiency, promptness, and genuine friendly attitude. However, the most prominent sawmill operator in the Territory told me that if it were possible to arbitrate before a competent board real or fancied discrimination on readjustment stumpage rates there would be a dozen operators in Alaska where there is one now. "So far as I am concerned," he added, "with the present Forester, I would as soon take his judgment as that of any board, but that may not be the case with his successors."

I have talked to several operators since the plan outlined in my first arti-

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cle went to press. They have assured me that if there was a cabinet established in Alaska that would act as an arbitration board, where the Chief Forester's adjustment prices could be appealed for adjudication, Alaska in a remarkably short time would find pulp mills on available tracts.

An Alaskan cabinet would act as a board of review, and would guarantee adequate protection against any possible discrimination on the part of a Bureau official. In other words, as I have already pointed out, the cry of autocratic Bureau control would be stilled forever.

Let me again impress the reader with the fact that there will be a perpetual supply of timber in southeastern Alaska, which is not alone due to the heavy rainfall, but to the peculiar nature of the soil where timber is found. "It rains here some, and then some," a prospector assured me, when I inquired about weather conditions; then the grizzled old-timer related the following story, which, in my opinion, was outrageously overdrawn.

A missionary had rounded up the natives around Ketchikan, in the early days, and, after opening up the Sunday meeting, informed his Indian congregation that he would use as his text the story of Noah and the ark. After assuring his hearers that after forty days and nights of rain the earth was flooded, the missionary was interrupted by an old wrinkled Siwash. "Did you say that it rained for forty days and nights, and the whole world was flooded?" inquired the Indian. "That's true," replied the missionary. "Heap big lie," grunted the disgusted redskin. "It's rained here both day and night for forty years and no flood yet."

Southeastern Alaska was first made famous by the Treadwell Gold Mine, which quickly established the reputation of the greatest low-grade gold producer in the world—an enviable reputation held until 1917, when a great cave-in on the shore line of Gastineau Channel flooded the principal operating unit. It is questionable if this mine will ever be pumped out because of the tremendous expense involved in erecting a coffer dam. The flooded mine, although worked for nearly thirty years, still contained enough ore for fifteen years' operations. The Treadwell Company, however, are working several other smaller properties on Gastineau Channel.

Adjacent to this property is the Alaska-Juneau, a mine containing tremendous ore bodies, but, unfortunately, of such low grade that profitable operations have only recently been effected. In bringing this great property into the profit column, a new star has been added to the firmament of the world's great mining engineers, the new star being P. R. Bradley, General Manager of the Alaska-Juneau Mine. Mr. Bradley, during the month of June, 1922, brought the total cost of mining and milling the free milling gold-ore product to a fraction over 41 cents per ton. After careful calculations, 3 cents per ton was added to cover all overhead, making a total cost of only 44 cents per ton. This remarkable feat practically cuts in half the cheapest methods of mining formerly known. When I was informed of the June cost sheet of the Alaska-Juneau, I pooh-poohed, as every one else was doing at the time. I had to be shown, and told Mr. Bradley so. "All right," he said; "we will go through the mine tomorrow."

We went through a great tunnel many thousand feet long to the point where the Bradley cave-in stoping system was in operation. We viewed the wonderful electrically operated car system where forty ten-ton-capacity cars were pulled by an eighteen-ton electric locomotive; then back to the mill, where the most modern mining machinery in the world was in operation. As we started through the mill I told Mr. Bradley that his system of operation was wonderful, but it didn't explain a 41-cent mining and milling achievement. "Don't get excited," he replied. "Keep your eyes open." A few minutes later I stood on a platform overlooking a great sorting belt where four men were picking off gold-bearing quartz, and the slate went over into conveyors, and thence to Gastineau Channel. I realized in a flash that I was viewing the "reason" of 41-cent operations. The great Alaska-Gastineau mill had been compelled to close down because the cost of operation exceeded by a few cents a ton the total gold recovery. This failure was attributed to the fact that the Gastineau ran three tons of barren slate through the mill to every ton of gold-bearing quartz. This heavy percentage of slate going through the mill caused a prohibitive cost of operation, and the mill—the largest and most modern in the world—closed down and is now being dismantled. Mr. Bradley's Alaska-Juneau had the same trouble. Due to the stoping systems used, about three-fourths of the rock brought to the mill from the mine was pure slate. For several months every effort was made to invent a system that would permit a cheap segregation of the slate and quartz. Bradley solved the problem by installing great conveyor belts by which, at a trifling cost, a few men easily sort out one ton of quartz and let three tons of slate go into the channel without going through the crusher. The success achieved by this new method of cheap milling will mean much to the future of low-grade mining in Alaska.

There are several promising mines in the immediate vicinity of Juneau; especially the Ebner Mine, which lies directly northeast of the Alaska-Juneau.

Funter Bay, located on upper Admiralty Island, has every indication of becoming one of the great camps of southeastern Alaska. There are two large properties being developed close to the bay, and these, if proved, will enjoy harbor and cheap milling facilities second to none in Alaska. The Pekovich claims cover an area of twelve hundred acres, containing several large veins of low-grade free milling gold ore, with one small vein of high-grade that is now being shipped. Back on Mount Robert Barron, on the Pekovich, is located an immense vein of copper-nickel-gold ore of fair value. The owner of this property has carried on development work for many years under great difficulty, but at the present time the main tunnel, which is nearly two thousand feet long, is credited with being less than a thousand feet from two large ore bodies. If these ore bodies are tapped, showing equal values of surface ledges, Funter Bay will become a second Gastineau Channel.

Directly opposite the Pekovich mine is a group of claims known as the Nowell-Otteson group. Work has progressed in the development of these claims for the past twenty years. However, it seems that a lifetime effort of the owners will be rewarded in a short time. Recent encouraging developments tend to justify the hope that this property will soon

AN ALASKAN POTATO RANCH

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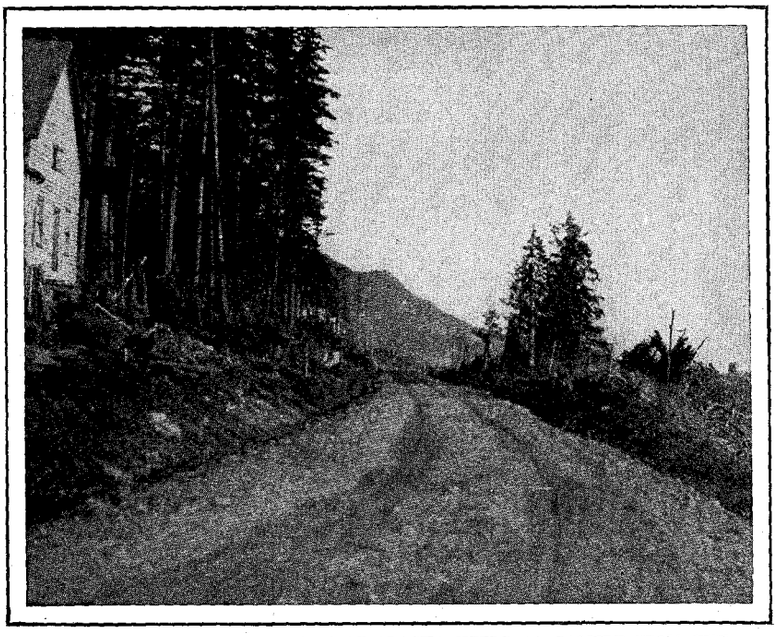

THIS IS THE KIND OF ROAD THAT ALASKA NEEDS—A SAMPLE FROM THE KETCHIKAN DISTRICT

take its place among the gold producers of Alaska.

On the opposite side of Mount Robert Barron lie the Williams and Brown claims, where high-grade prospects are being developed. The greatest high-grade gold mine in Alaska is located on Chichagof Island. This mine, known as the Chichagof, located on Klag Bay, works a crew of 175 men, operates two mills, and is one of the highest dividend payers of the North. Near this wonderful property several other high-grade prospects are being developed. They include the Hirst-Chichagof, the Falcon properties, the Apex group, the Elnide, Brown Bear Gold and Copper group, and the Stag Bay claims. The Pacific Coast Gypsum Company operates a large gypsum mine near Iyoukeen Cove. Large quantities of high-grade gypsum are produced and shipped to Tacoma in barges.

In the Lynn Canal District, across Chatham Strait from Funter Bay, several ledges carrying silver and lead are being prospected on Howard Bay and William Henry Bay. The Alaska-Endicott property has a tunnel of sixteen hundred feet completed, and a mill is now being erected.

In the Hyder District, at the head of Portland Canal, many silver claims are being developed. Activity in this section has been given a tremendous impetus since the discovery of the Premier Mine, a property that is shipping large quantities of very rich silver ore to the Tacoma smelter. Mining experts declare that this is one of the richest silver properties in the world. This mine was developed after having been turned down by several noted mining engineers. Engineers had driven a tunnel to a point where discovery of ore seemed improbable. A hard-rock miner who was not an expert got a chance to carry out his theory, which conflicted with the opinions of mining engineers. He drove a cross-cut only a few feet when he discovered the largest and richest silver-ore body in the North.

The new Alaska group, Riverside group, Hovland claims, Lucky Boy group, and many others are now carrying on extensive prospecting, and, according to mining men, give promise of permanence. There is probably more excitement in this district than in any other part of southeastern Alaska.

From all reports emanating from the Hyder District, this camp is rapidly taking its place as one of the greatest silver producers on the continent.

There is a remarkable story about this district of a visit of two very well known mining engineers, many years ago. In their reports they stated that the Portland Canal section would never develop paying mines. This story was very similar to that of the engineers who investigated the coal deposits in the State of Washington in the early '90s, declaring, in the first place, that the coal had little value, and, second, that there would never be enough of it found for successful operation. To-day Washington has gained National fame for both the grade of its coal and the size of its deposits.

There has been more development in the Hyder District in the last six months than there had been in many years before.

The marble deposits of southeastern Alaska are being developed; especially the Tonkeen quarries, although an excellent grade of marble can be found on many of the numerous islands that make up the Alexander Archipelago.

Large nickel deposits have been uncovered on Yacobi Island. There is, however, still some question as to whether the metal can be profitably mined, owing to the conflicting mineral elements the ore contains.

The mines and prospects on Prince of Wales Island known as the Ketchikan District are being developed with promise of successful operation, especially the Rush and Brown Mine, which has already produced a fair tonnage of copper ore. A large amount of development has taken place on this property, which is equipped with modern machinery and a narrow-gauge railway.

Summing up the mining possibilities of southeastern Alaska, I will quote a conservative, successful business man of Ketchikan. He said: "Every one of the myriad of islands of southeastern Alaska contains surface indications of valuable minerals—gold, copper, silver, lead, gypsum, marble, or nickel. Many promising prospects are being opened up, and several heavy producing mines in operation, which should prove to any one with common sense that this part of the Territory will always be a permanent mining country. The possible prospecting ground has scarcely been scratched over yet, and the future will undoubtedly witness the discovery of many paying properties. I have been in mining camps all my life, all over the world, but have never seen a section that can beat this. But it takes men who are willing to risk, who can afford to risk, both time and money. There will be many fortunes made. At the same time, there will be many thousands of dollars lost, as in all mining countries. I want to impress on your mind that you should not buy a single share of Alaska mining stock until after *careful* investigation, but if purchasers will investigate before they buy and eliminate the gold from the dross they have as good a chance of good returns here as any place on earth. But it isn't a tenderfoot country. For strong-willed, determined men southeastern Alaska ranks with the best."

From an agricultural standpoint the southeastern section of the Territory has a wonderful climate for all kinds of berries, small fruits, vegetables, and dairying. I saw as fine a herd of Holsteins near Juneau as could be found anywhere in the States. Farming will develop into a stable industry when paper mills and mining enterprises develop a local market.

Southeastern Alaska, with its fine climate, its great varied resources, and its easy accessibility, will be the great commercial center when faith and confidence in Governmental policies are firmly established by administration of Alaskan affairs *on Alaskan soil*.

SHERMAN ROGERS' third article on Alaska will be published in next week's issue of The Outlook

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ETCHED IN ACID

BY LESLIE NELSON JENNINGS

"DRINK without meat." . . . You could not draw
A truer portrait if you tried.
She lives, and though I never saw
The lady, still I'm satisfied.

Red wine undoubtedly is good,
Well racked, warm garnet in the glass;
But what is claret, lacking food?
Not thus *in vino veritas!*

Meat without salt insults the guest,
But there's no madness on the plate;
And many a table has been blest
By men who missed the salt, yet ate.

No; I'll go thirsty if I must!
Ditch water's not so mean a draught
When the contracted throat's adust,
And not so difficultly quaffed!

"Drink without meat." . . . Your sketch, complete
To the last shadow, makes me wish
For fools who bolt their liquor neat
No better than an empty dish!

"EVEN THE DOGS"—

THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF ARTICLES ON THE MACKENZIE RIVER COUNTRY

BY FULLERTON WALDO

THE bank of the Slave River at Fort Smith is steep as a house roof, and your shoes are filled with sand as you slide to the bottom toward the steamer, with a suit-case in each hand. If your hands were free, you would be flailing the mosquitoes and the bulldog flies beclouding you. The bulldog flies are half again as big as bumblebees; fat and greasy as they are, they do more buzzing than biting among human beings, but they drive the horses frantic and they pester the dogs.

Fort Smith is the "capital" of the Northwest Territories, and the starting-point of the Mackenzie River steamers. When you land at the bottom of the sandslide, at the gang-plank (which is all the wharf there is), the view is bounded north, south, east, and west by dogs, hungry dogs. There really isn't so very much more to be seen on the river-bank at Fort Smith, if you except Mrs. Conibear and her store, the Roman Catholic mission with its farm and hospital, and the spruce-tree gallows with an open grave at the foot. The gallows was used in 1921 for the first murderer, but he was given sepulture in the tiny cemetery, and the grave is left open to save trouble next time.

There was a wait of eleven days before the Hudson Bay Company's steamer started—twelve days later than advertised in the season's schedule. There was plenty of time to study the dogs, and the interest was reciprocal. There they stood, a score at a time, knee-deep in the muddy water, their eyes fixed on the door of the cook's galley. Their Indian masters, whom they served so faithfully all winter, had turned them off to fend and find for themselves all summer long, on the beautiful Bolshevist theory that if you are not at work you do not need to eat. There is an abundance of fish in the river at the foot of the rapids; but the fish are in the river, not ashore, and the Indian does not propose to go fishing for a dog. So the dog starves or depends on what is thrown from the steamboat; for the forest in the summer season has very little that he can catch by hunting. The bush is so thick that the advantage is all on the side of the rabbits and the squirrels, if any are there.

MY FAVORITE, "MINK"—THE MOST PATIENT WAITER AND THE GENTLEST SPIRIT OF THE LOT

I can see Mink now, filling up the whole breadth of the gang-plank, waiting for me to appear. He was white, like a polar bear, except where he had come in contact with tar used for the boat-seams. He was only two years old, but the struggle to get enough to eat had aged him. It was hard to take his picture "close up," for he always wanted to eat the camera. He watched every motion of my hand, and hope sprang eternal. Hungry as he was, he had to learn to eat dog-biscuit from my baggage. The "husky" is accustomed to three dried whitefish a day—when he can get them—on the trail in winter; one gulp per fish, and his supper is over. Dog-biscuit makes him chew, and he fears that while he is chewing another dog may get his rightful portion.

Mink and his rivals caught flung scraps from the deck almost unerringly. They knew that if they missed there was scarcely the ghost of a second chance. One big black brute was a fiend for pouncing on the rest, and more than once the red blood showed on the white coat of the gentler Mink ere the ruffian could be driven off. I have seen the bully repeatedly drop what he was eating to snatch at another dog's meal.

There were three puppies, like young

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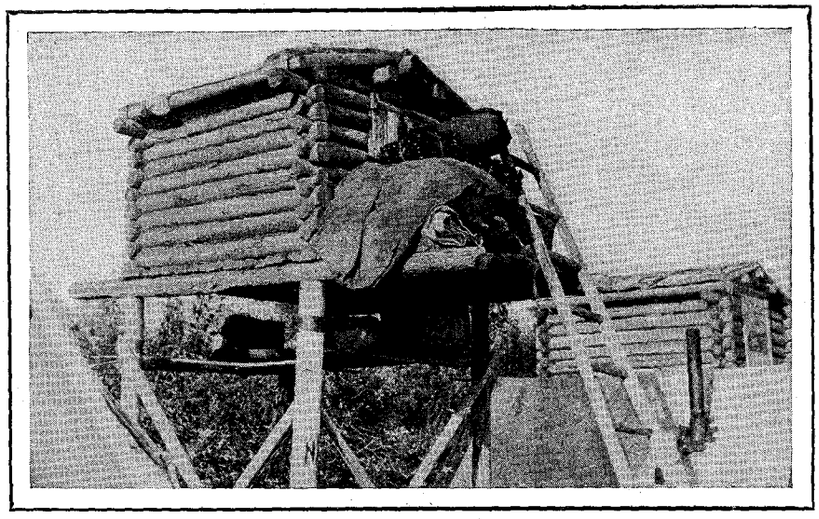

A TRAPPER'S CACHE FOR PROTECTION AGAINST DOGS

lion cubs, that scrimmaged about amid the legs and bushy tails of the rest to be, like Autolycus, the snappers-up of unconsidered trifles. I don't know how an Eskimo dog grows up. The other dogs seem determined he shall have nothing. Only their friendly, fawning mother was the champion of the little fellows; the other dogs took their part, it is true, but took it to eat it.

All the way to the Arctic Ocean the scene is repeated. The steamboat whistle is a signal for the starved dogs to run to the beach and stand in the water if they are free. Unhappily, in most of the few small settlements the Indian dogs are so savage from long abstinence that they must be tied or chained. Their condition moves the pity of all who see them with other than Indian eyes. The Indians, polite as they are to the white man, are endlessly cruel to their four-footed dependents, great and small.

Said one horse-loving superintendent of transport: "I sold two splendid horses to a trading company for $600. They, in turn, sold them to an Indian. The Indian worked them so hard, in the heat, amid the mosquitoes and black flies, that in a day and a half the first horse died, and the second was dead in two days. I wouldn't have sold the horses if I'd known an Indian was to have them."

The last horse is 1,200 miles down the river; there are 450 miles of suffering dogs beyond that.

The young dogs, not yet entirely embittered and disillusioned, want to make friends. They come doubtfully, wagging a placating tail and sliding their muzzles along the ground. But if you brandish a stick or hurl a stone—well, that is only what they expect; it is the Indian way. The great game of the Indian boy is to throw stones at the dogs. A whistle of welcome mystifies them; a caress is the last thing they expect, and food at a stranger's hand is unutterable and inexplicable bliss. I used to commandeer the ship's garbage-pail, overflowing with vitamines and calories, and carry it along the bank to where the Indian dogs were tied. They ran about in frantic circles and tugged at their stakes as the pail drew near; the Indians laughed and thought it a great joke. The dogs that were not tied converged upon the intruder bearing gifts. Even when the last gaunt bone-bag had licked the pail till it shone they followed after, eagerly. You always felt the despair of him who said: "There is a lad here, which hath five barley loaves, and two small fishes; but what are they among so many?" And you never knew the joy of seeing a miracle of multiplication performed; it was forever depletion, never repletion.

The dogs ate everything but orange-peel. There was a single exception when a dog swam into deep water even for that. The fights were harrowing. They could not be entirely forestalled even when you strewed the repast along the beach. For a dog, as soon as he had gobbled what lay in his immediate vicinity, poached on the adjoining preserves. The best way was to throw the food at close range directly into the jowl of the dog for whom it was intended, keeping the animals as widely scattered as you could.

"They'll never eat fried eggs!" exclaimed a dentist *en route* to the Coronation Gulf Eskimo. But the dogs proceeded to refute him. One egg fell squarely on the nose of a rampant "husky." He shook it off, instantly put a firm detaining paw upon it, and grabbed it from under his own foot ere his nearest rival could snatch it from him. Another dog swam out and retrieved by the lid a can to which flecks of butter adhered. He stood by patiently while I dumped out the water and scraped it for him, and then he licked the can till it was burnished like a heliograph and almost ate the stick. The dogs could teach us a lesson in Hooverizing. They waste nothing.

Greely, the Arctic explorer, looking over the side of the ship when Schwatka rescued him, mournfully exclaimed when he saw the refuse emitted from the kitchen: "If we'd only had a little of that, we needn't have lost our gallant men!" As you watched a poor ravenous, nervous cur with his head in your pail for the last rancid smear on the inner surface, while he kept an eye out lest you have a blow or a kick for him, you felt again acutely the maladjustment so many humans in China and Russia and Asia Minor have still more piteously known. What a crime it is to waste food, when there are so many starving on two legs and on four!

Fortunately, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police are to wrestle with the problem of implanting in the Indian that providence for his dogs which the Indian

DOGS FLOWING AT FORT SMITH, CAPITAL OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

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has so seldom and so slightly exhibited. If the Indians pitch their tents in a Mackenzie River settlement and let the dogs shrivel and agonize—as the dogs' reward for enabling the Indians to live in winter—the Mounted Police are to send masters and dogs back to the bush till the dogs are fed by the hunting and the fishing. The plan is barely begun; its consummation will be warrant for a pæan of rejoicing from all dog lovers, and friends of the Indian too.

WORKING FOR THE GOVERNMENT

A CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEE GIVES AN INSIDE VIEW

BY HERBERT E. MORGAN

"'ALL hope abandon, ye who enter here,' would be an appropriate legend for the portals of all Government office buildings," said a former member of Congress writing in a popular magazine. In his view, a young man or woman who enters the Civil Service of the United States flings away ambition at the start and is certain to prove a failure. He holds the belief that the Government service offers little incentive to initiative, is lacking in the spirit of competition, which makes for endeavor, and is devoid of the elements which tend to develop self-reliance, healthy ambition, and efficient service.

That is one story. Here is another, quite different:

Grover Cleveland was a good judge of men. Most big men are. That quality has much to do with their success.

One day, after a Cabinet meeting, President Cleveland said to the Postmaster-General: "There is a young man named Cortelyou who is serving as stenographer to the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General. I want him over here in the White House."

"But, Mr. President," replied the Postmaster-General, "we can't get along without Cortelyou. You can't have him."

The President merely smiled in his well-known quiet way. The next day George B. Cortelyou, stenographer, reported at the White House.

About the first thing Cortelyou said to the President was this: "I think I ought to tell you, Mr. President, that I don't agree with you in politics. I think you should know that before you assign me to work."

The President told him he cared not a rap about his politics; that he himself could look after politics for the whole official family; that stenographers were expected to do stenography.

Cortelyou served as stenographer and executive clerk to Cleveland, as assistant secretary and secretary to McKinley, as secretary to Roosevelt, and as Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Postmaster-General, and Secretary of the Treasury. He left the public service to become President of the Consolidated Gas Company of New York.

There have been other instances of subordinate employees rising to Cabinet portfolios.

In 1878 a young man named Howard entered the Government service as an assistant entomologist. To-day the name of Dr. Leland O. Howard is known wherever bugs are known. He knows more about bugs than bugs know about themselves.

Dr. Charles W. Stiles is a world authority on intestinal parasites. He is a development of the United States Public Health Service.

I could fill a good-sized volume with brief biographical sketches of former Government messenger boys, minor clerks, and scientific assistants who are now holding important executive and professional positions in the Federal Civil Service. I could fill another book with stories of men and women who through their training in Government offices and laboratories have achieved both fame and fortune in private industry. One may achieve fame by working for the Government, but not fortune.

Which of these two stories is a true picture of the prospects offered by Government employment? Either may be. The young man or woman who enters the Civil Service of the United States may drift along with the tide, settle in some nice, quiet eddy, and watch the stream flow past bearing craft richly laden with opportunity for service, extending an invitation to climb aboard. If he elects to be one of these leisurely onlookers, exerting himself only enough to keep from being dismissed for inefficiency, he may comfortably grow gray in the Government service. So he may in any large organization. There is always plenty of hack work for the mediocre. The Government service is not unique in that respect.

On the other hand, the Government service offers a wide field of opportunity where individual tastes may be developed and where real constructive work—big, interesting, clean work—may be done. Those who seek to amass wealth will find little opportunity for doing so in work for the Government, but the Civil Service has much to commend it. Whether one is satisfied to work for the Government depends a good deal upon his definition of success.

However, it is not because you expect sometime to work for the Government that you should be interested in the Civil Service, Mr. Business Man and Mrs. Housewife, but for the reason that every taxpayer is vitally concerned in Government employment methods; because it costs such a tremendous sum to pay the great civilian army; because Government employment policies have a certain effect upon employment standards in private business; because Government business and private business are so closely interwoven that any lack of full efficiency in Government establishments, any delay in Government processes, must affect industry; and because the diverse things your public servants do for you have so much to do with your daily comfort and convenience.

Do you know that of all the men, women, and children earning a living in the United States, one in 85 works in the Federal Civil Service? If you add to the 550,000 Federal civil employees the Army and the Navy and the hosts of State, county, and municipal employees, and then make a further allowance for the dependents of those who actually do Government work, you will realize that Government employment is an important economic problem.

Your Federal civil servants are constantly striving to increase and improve the output of your farms. They are bringing new seeds and plants to America from all parts of the world and endeavoring to grow them profitably in American soil. They keep a watchful eye on the food you eat, that it may be free from poisons and adulteration, and safeguard your health in a hundred other ways. They collect your letters and packages from a mail-box in New York City and deliver them at the road gate on your ranch in California. They mint the coin and print the paper money you use in the transaction of your daily business. They count you and your neighbors periodically. They dig canals, and make ice-cream and cheese in food experiments. They build battleships and study the habits of bugs. They burrow into the ground and fly into the air in search of scientific knowledge for your benefit. They do ten thousand things that affect the life of every citizen and that are accepted as a matter of course.

All of these people are in the employ of every taxpayer. It is the duty of taxpayers to see that their civil servants return in service dollar for dollar for what they receive. It is no less their duty to see that the employees have just compensation for the service that they render.

This idea that Civil Service employees are the paid servants of the people is important and should be kept in mind by employees as well as employers. Some-

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times the employers make strange demands upon their employees, as, for example, the woman in the Middle West who wrote to the Civil Service Commission asking for the names of the members of the United States Supreme Court, "and will you please send me one of the new buffalo nickels." Her letter was replied to with every courtesy and consideration, as it properly should have been. The employer is entitled to service; he pays for it when he pays his Federal taxes.

The Federal Civil Service has been much discussed of late in the press, in Congress, in official circles, and by the public generally. A few out-and-out spoilsmen have shown their heads. The number of intelligent American citizens who advocate the spoils system of appointments to public offices is comparatively small. Those who do are not seeking efficiency, but votes; and they are not far-sighted enough to see that patronage is a party liability, not an asset. The friends of the merit system of appointments, and they are legion, know that the present employment system has defects which exist in spite of, and not because of, the laws and rules governing the Civil Service. The friends of the merit system seek to go forward, not backward. They believe that in its employment policy the Government should not be content with striving to equal the best methods of private business, but that the Government should serve as a model for private employers.

It is a mistake to suppose that all Government business is less efficient than all private business. It is also a mistake to expect all Government business to be transacted as efficiently and as expeditiously as the best-managed private business. It can't be done. A certain amount of so-called red tape is necessary in the transaction of public business because it is public business. If you are running a grocery store of your own, you will run it pretty much to suit yourself. You will keep your books on your cuff if you want to. The profits or losses are your concern, and not your neighbor's. But if you are chairman of the board of directors of a corporation operating a country-wide chain of grocery stores, you will see to it that no shareholder has an opportunity to charge you with dishonesty or mismanagement. You will have it all down in black and white, and you will have checks on your subordinates all along the line, and you will insist upon a lot of system and formality. Congress, the board of directors for the one hundred and ten million shareholders in the great business of American government, specifies on the statute-books with particularity how the Government business shall be conducted in order that the interests of the shareholders may be conserved. This makes for "red tape." The big corporations have almost as much. Private business has this advantage, however: delay may mean money loss, and money loss means explanations to shareholders, and possibly a new directorate; or it may mean a shrinkage of your own purse if the business is yours. Therefore private business is speeded up. In the matter of finance there is no essential difference between public business and private business, but there is a human difference.

I have said that the friends of the merit system recognize the weaknesses of Government employment methods. They know that inefficient or otherwise unworthy employees sometimes are not removed when they should be, largely because of outside pressure brought to bear in the interest of employees slated for dismissal. They know that the Government service lacks a definitely planned and well-organized employment policy that follows an employee through his entire official life and sees to it that he does what he is paid to do and is paid for what he does. They know that haphazard practices in assignments of work and in promotions have brought about glaring inequalities; that the salaries paid by the Government are relatively low, and that therefore the rate of "turnover" in Government forces is abnormally high, particularly among the very classes of men and women whose retention would keep the service strong and healthy; that there are legal restrictions on transfers from one department to another that retard the fitting of square pegs into square holes; that excluded from the merit system are too many of the higher offices which should stand as a reward for meritorious service, but which, in fact, are often held as payment for service to the political party in power. They know these things, and they know that the way to correct them is not a return to anything approaching the waste and corruption of the years before the passage of the Civil Service Law of 1883.

Steps are being taken to improve the Federal Civil Service. The Retirement Law, now two years old, was an important move in the right direction. It was aimed at the evil of superannuation in Government offices. It is in no sense philanthropic, but is based upon sound business principles. Under this law thousands of aged Federal employees have been retired with a small annuity, in no case exceeding $720. Already there is ample evidence of the value of this law in promoting the efficiency of the service. The employees contribute 2½ per cent of their pay toward the maintenance of the retirement fund, and thus far the Federal Treasury has not been called upon to contribute; but actuaries estimate that eventually the Government must share in the expense of the fund.

A bill providing for the reclassification and readjustment of salaries and duties in the Government service has passed the House and is now being considered by the Senate. This bill is commonly known as the Sterling-Lehlbach Reclassification Bill, being sponsored in the Senate by the Hon. Thomas Sterling, Chairman of the Senate Civil Service Committee, and in the House by the Hon. Frederick R. Lehlbach, Chairman of the House Civil Service Committee. The outstanding features of this bill are a standardized system of positions, with qualifications defined and compensation fixed, applying to all departments and offices alike and taking the place of the present statutory and lump-fund positions; provision for amending the specifications or adding new positions from time to time as needed; rates of compensation more nearly adequate than those now in effect; removing present restrictions on transfers from one department to another; and efficiency ratings under central jurisdiction, upon which ratings increases or decreases in compensation and retention or dismissal will depend.

It is hoped that this bill will become a law before the present session of Congress adjourns. It has indorsements enough, including that of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, to effect a Constitutional amendment. It is regarded as a most important step toward a genuine merit system in the Federal service, a merit system that contemplates not only appointment, but promotion or reduction and retention or dismissal strictly on the worth to the Government of the individual.

In the auditorium of the National Museum at Washington, at three o'clock in the afternoon of July 11, the President and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget addressed the third semi-annual meeting of what the President calls "the business organization of the Government," expressing appreciation of economies effected during the fiscal year just closed and urging further effort in that direction throughout the new fiscal year. The gathering consisted of Cabinet officers, bureau chiefs, chief clerks of departments and independent offices, officials of the Bureau of the Budget, co-ordinating boards, Army and Navy officers, and budget officers attached to the departments and offices who were appointed to serve, in addition to their usual duties, as auxiliaries to the Bureau

Two Special Features
for our
CHRISTMAS NUMBER
Published Next Week

MARIA RAPALLO
A Story by
ELSIE SINGMASTER

"CHRISTMAS EVE ON THE PLANTATION"
by
ARCHIBALD RUTLEDGE

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of the Budget in their respective offices —about five hundred in all. The expenditure of billions of dollars is in the hands of these men and women.

Of these five hundred Federal employees, easily four hundred hold positions in the competitive classified Civil Service, or Presidential appointments through promotion from competitive classified positions. Most of the four hundred came up from the ranks; great numbers of them secured the major part of their higher education through night study in the universities of Washington. Many schools of special class or collegiate grade in Washington are practically supported by night students who work in the departments. This is the kind of Federal employee who does not seek the nice, quiet eddy.

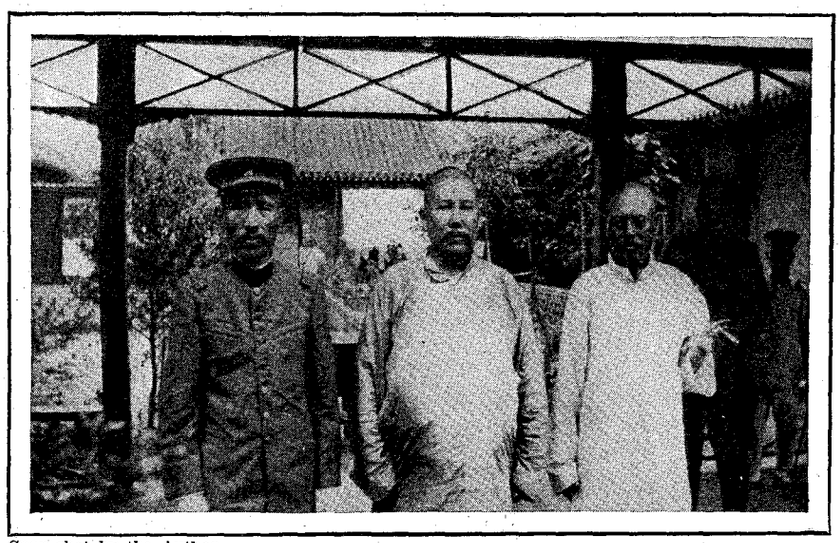
The Bureau of the Budget is real business. It is saving real money for taxpayers. General Charles G. Dawes resigned from the directorship of the Bureau on June 30 to engage again in the banking business in Chicago. He was succeeded by General H. M. Lord, formerly Chief of Finance of the War Department.

Dawes was a go-getter in the Government service, if there ever was one. A remarkable thing about General Dawes is that he writes music. I heard some of it played by Fritz Kreisler, and it is good music. When Dawes has you on the carpet shaking his finger under your nose and calling you a pinhead, you can't imagine his writing anything sweeter than "Where do you go from here?" I have it on good authority that while in France during the war Dawes did nothing but play a piano for two days to get his nerves in shape. But that has nothing to do with the Civil Service.

I repeat, Mr. and Mrs. Taxpayer, your civil servants are your concern. Keep your eye on them. If they don't return a just stewardship, raise thunder about it. But remember, they are human, and, being human, they need the most human of all incentives to good work—promise of reward for work well done. If you hold that before them, they can't kick if you fire them when they fall down.

WU PEI-FU'S PERSONALITY

BY UPTON CLOSE



Snap-shot by the Author

"GENERAL WU PEI-FU'S AFFECTATIONS ARE GOLD-PLATED TEETH AND A SPORTY MANNER OF HOLDING A CIGARETTE WHICH HE PRETENDS TO SMOKE"

General Wu can be identified by his cigarette in this picture. He is overshadowed by the big Moslem General Ma Fu-hsiang, who stands next to him. This Mohammedan "caliph" of northwestern China, whom the author had known upon the borders of Tibet, happened into the Loyang General's headquarters on the same day that the author did. Next to General Ma is Hsiao Yao-nan, the Tuchun of Hupeh, one of Wu's commanders. Wu Pei-fu became interested in the correspondent's camera and ordered a hundred of them for his Intelligence Department

GENERAL WU PEI-FU'S headquarters are reached by a trip either northward from Hankow or southward from Peking to Chengchow, the junction point of the Peking-Hankow Railway with a little Sino-Belgian line which is working its way into the heart of China. From Chengchow (just south of the Yellow River), which is a boom city of gaudy-fronted shops and hastily erected mud hovels, the road picks its way westward, sometimes on top, sometimes through, and sometimes under the hills of soft loess, which may be described as a plastic, non-sticky fertile clay that, owing to the continual action of wind and water, refuses to "stay put." Here and there, framed between the steep sides of grass-carpeted ravines, appears a pleasing picture of the almost golden waters of the Yellow River, with the purple mountains of the northern bank in the background. Temples surrounded by pine groves are perched on top of steep hills, giving as fantastic an impression as a cloud picture. Now and then the railway plunges through a settlement of cave-dwellers whose doors open off the right-of-way to habitations hollowed out of the cliffs behind them. It was this type of snug cave-dwelling which sheltered the forebears of the race of Han and which houses thousands of their descendants in the provinces of Honan, Shensi, and Kansu to-day.

IN a recent issue we printed by the author of this sketch an article describing Wu's career and his aims as a leader of China's unification.

Shortly before arrival at Loyang one sees out across a little plain between the railway and the river the immense stacks and buildings of the arsenal which Yuan Shi-kai planned to make the greatest in China and which Wu Pei-fu is striving to complete. Honanfu, or Loyang, itself is a straggling low-walled town of one-storied huts and wear-hollowed muddy streets, with nothing to remind the visitor of its ancient glory but the flat rock upon which may be seen the eight fundamental geometric figures said to have been carved there four thousand years ago, a bent and hoary oak tree of the Han dynasty two thousand years old, and eight miles to the south of the city the Grottos of Buddha, unparalleled for both the immensity and multiplicity of figures carved from the limestone cliffs.

One may take a Peking cart through the canal-like streets to the headquarters of General Wu, which stand on the plain four miles to the southwest of the city, and which are connected by a spur to the railway. Reaching the barracks which stand row upon row, he passes down the wide tree-lined avenues between them, and enters a building no different from its neighbors, which is distinguished as the General's headquarters only by the two flags crossed over the gateway. Here, in a style which appears to border upon hardship, Wu Pei-fu lives in a most informal manner among his staff and men. He usually begins the day by drilling before breakfast with his men on the field. This fraternization is in strong contrast to the austere isolation and armored motor cars of Chang Tso-lin, and is an important factor in Wu Pei-fu's military strength. The confidence which Wu's officers have in him and their personal devotion to him make his organization

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capable of sustaining severe reverse—an unusual thing in Chinese armies.

Wu Pei-fu, now forty-seven years of age, is an exceptional Chinese in many personal characteristics. He has the golden-brown eyes occasionally found among the race of Han. He is direct in his gesture and speech, and dispenses entirely with that circumlocution which is the ordinary basis of Oriental courtesy. In his cotton Chinese gentleman's gown he looks anything but a military commander, but in uniform his features and bearing take on an austerity which borders on cruelty. His affectations are gold-plated teeth and a sporty manner of holding a cigarette, which he pretends to smoke. Nothing in the line of luxury at his headquarters is to be seen greater than a Ford car, in which he travels back and forth to the railway spur.

General Wu is a native of Shantung, which has produced so many of China's men of fame and notoriety. His parents still live as small landed proprietors in Tungchou, on the Shantung Peninsula. He was graduated with a Hsiutsai or "B.A." degree, about the time of the Manchu overthrow, from the old Chihli Military Academy. From then until he became a national figure he was engaged as an officer in the various civil wars of the past Manchu régime, it having always fallen to his lot to take part in arduous border expeditions in Shensi, Szechuan, and Hunan.

Even Wu Pei-fu's enemies admit that he is one of the few men in China who cannot be bought. Indeed, if he could, he would have proved much less troublesome to Chang Tso-lin, who accumulated in Mukden a sum of thirty million dollars in silver for buying off opposition not otherwise removable. Certain it is that if Wu Pei-fu has made money out of his power, as has every other Tuchun of recent years, he has not spent it upon personal adornment or comfort.

General Wu, in addition to being China's only military chief who is an accomplished soldier, is one of the few Tuchuns who is regarded as a classical scholar. His application of Confucian dictums to China's present political situation gives a new turn to that ancient philosophy. Here is an example:

Speaking at the reception given in his honor by the Wuchang and Hankow Chambers of Commerce, Wu Pei-fu inculcated upon the audience a basic principle of classical Chinese philosophy contained in "The Great Learning" of the Four Books. Instead of discussing general political topics in the ruling Mandarin tone, General Wu gave a scholarly discussion of the *Ta Hsioh* theory as it applies to modern politics in China.

The principle brought out from the Four Books reads: "Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole Kingdom was made tranquil and happy."

The above theory was propounded by Wu Pei-fu as the only panacea for salvaging China politically. He began his classical harangue by emphasizing the importance of following the *Ta Hsioh* theory and discrediting all high-sounding political theories advanced by Chinese political aspirants, who only threw the state into chaos. Let all those who claim to be anxious to save China set upon the task by beginning from the bottom up—let them make their thoughts sincere, rectify their hearts, cultivate their persons, regulate their families, rightly govern their states, and then bring the nation into a state of tranquillity and happiness. Here, again, Wu Pei-fu is in strong contrast to Chang Tso-lin, whose youthful education consists of what he could pick up as a bandit's apprentice and who is now taking lessons in conventional Chinese courtesy with a view to fitting himself for more gentle society.

General Wu is too matter-of-fact to be good company. There is one time when he is interesting. That is when, at the end of a meal with his officers and guests about the table, he leads them in singing his version of the "Marseillaise" or the patriotic and military songs which, with some of his student soldiers, he has composed and set to music. The enthusiasm with which he takes part in these songs convinces the onlooker beyond a doubt of his sincerity. For it is easy to simulate sentiment in speech, but harder to do so in song.

I give below a rought but literal translation of a marching chant composed by Wu on the foundation of an ancient battle song. The metrical form is faultless, being the ancient 9-7-5-5-4-4 play on synonyms. An insight into the little commander's psychology can perhaps be gained through this composition of his. Certain it is that one who has seen him at the table, with his military band behind him, directing his officers and guests in the chant which varies in content from historical allusions and international relations to the war-cry of savagery, will never forget the sight. It is called:

THE ANCESTRAL LAND ENLIGHTENED

I. RECALL OUR ORIGIN

The Great Middle Kingdom boasts four thousand years.
Hsien Yuan founded it—
He invented the compass
And suppressed Chi Yu.[1]
In the dawn of enlightenment
My country was first.

II. THE PROCLAMATION

Daily the strife increases,
The tigers sharpen their teeth.
If I kill not men—
Will men therefore spare me?
Ten years I have studied my sword.
How about using it?

III. THE COUNTRY'S GLORY

Heaven impels me against the outside aggressor.
A month—three communiqués—I shall conquer.[2]
With a sword like the autumn rain
And a seven-starred blade
Shall I establish my nation in prestige
Encircling the continent.

IV. THE FEELINGS OF THE PEOPLE

Shall the God-enlightened Glorious endure foreign contumely?
Death to our oppressors. Should I, too, die,
Let me enter the Spirit Gates with fearless integrity,
Not as a ghost which shrank at death.
This has fate
Decreed to me, alone.

V. SELF-SACRIFICE

Man may live one hundred years.
Is it not pitiable if he lives as a reed or a tree?
Mu Lan[3] enlisted;
Should I, a male, draw back?
For country I devote my body;
Is it not my obligation?

VI. TO WAR!

I, of strength, proclaim
I will eat bran, sleep under a tent—
Let loose the battle lust,
Pluck up my courage.
Should I be made captive
I swear to return not alive.

VII. ATTACK

Blood lust upon us, we advance by river and land.
To-day the causes of the two forces are adjudged.
We charge through the bullet-rain,
Our countenances change not by a hair.
Here is our opportunity for victory—
Beat the drums!

VIII. ENCIRCLING

Cut off their supplies! Stop their retreat!
Break down the defenses! Take the city!
You are like a tiger in his lair?
I am a Feng Fu![4]
Stick the banner on high
Ten thousand years![5]

IX. THE TRIUMPH

Cover the smoke, suppress the war spirit, in obedience to orders, return.
Trumpets and drums shake the earth with their thunder.
To-day the victors—
Yesterday the Battalion of Death!
The elders welcome
With three glasses of old wine.

X. THE COUNTRY'S ARMY

The ancients said, Will may overcome destiny;
A thousand of the same heart can fill in the sea.
Japan has her "Society of Welded Spirits."
The West has its oaths of blood and iron.
Our oath is eternal, changeless.

[1] Mythical symbol of lawlessness.
[2] The Chinese historical expression similar to "I came, I saw, I conquered."
[3] The Chinese Jeanne d'Arc.
[4] The Chinese Amazon who rid the land of tigers.
[5] The Chinese "Banzai."

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FIVE—FIVE—THREE

I—ONE YEAR AFTER THE NAVAL CONFERENCE

BY CAPTAIN DUDLEY W. KNOX, U. S. NAVY (RETIRED)

NAVAL EDITOR "ARMY AND NAVY JOURNAL"

AMERICA'S great experiment of trying by example to bring about general reduction of naval armaments and cessation of competitive naval building appears to have failed. Both at the Washington Conference and during the nine months since its adjournment we have set an eminently fine example in these respects, but there has been no commensurate response from the other naval Powers. Consequently America's naval strength has steadily declined relative to other Powers and continues to do so. The passing of the recent elections now permits a survey of the whole question and an estimate of necessary remedies for such an unsatisfactory condition, free from any color of political bias.

Mr. Hughes's initial proposals for the scrapping of ships and the subsequent limitation of new construction was extraordinarily generous. It contained no element of selfishness. America offered to set the pace, to sacrifice relatively much more of her naval power than was suggested for any other nation.

At first the response to our unprecedented example was encouraging. All accepted the proposals "in principle." But when it came to detailed specifications, so many modifications were insisted upon by Great Britain, France, and Japan as to destroy the cardinal principle of mutual concession upon which Mr. Hughes's comprehensive plan chiefly depended. There was no appreciable tendency to follow America's lead in offering more than was asked. On the contrary, the foreign attitude appeared to be one of accepting advantages that had been offered and then of seeking to gain still more.

For several weeks Japan strove diligently to demonstrate that this *status quo* basis of limitation entitled her to a ratio of 7 to 10 instead of the proposed 3 to 5. It was finally proved to her satisfaction that by every method of calculation that could be devised her correct ratio was even less than 3 to 5. Japan then insisted upon a drastic limitation of naval bases in the western Pacific, the effect of which was greatly to enhance the strength of her navy relative to others in that region.

Great Britain strenuously sought the abolition of submarines or their limitation to small numbers and dimensions. The advantage which she would derive from such provisions, especially over France, caused the latter to interpose such vigorous objections, sustained by Italy, as to defeat the British proposals. Thereupon Britain flatly refused to consider any limitation whatever upon cruisers, destroyers, and other auxiliary types of ships suitable for anti-submarine warfare.

Thus was America's example of unselfishness ignored. In spite of her demonstrated willingness to go even further against her own interests than the very generous initial proposals, still none would follow. The influence of a good example failed to bring about effective reduction of armaments.

It was one of the cardinal features of Mr. Hughes's original plan that the reduction and limitation was to include all naval types of ships. If this element of completeness had been retained, then, regardless of details, the final agreement would have been effective in its main purposes of reducing naval strength to a fixed limit and abolishing competitive building. The exclusion of the auxiliary types and the inclusion of only capital ships and airplane carriers in the final agreement opened the door to nullification of such purposes, which were then made dependent upon the individual future choice of the nations.

The nullifying effects of the omissions regarding auxiliary naval ships arise from the inherent possibility of substituting strength in auxiliaries for strength in capital ships. For example, a single battleship reinforced by a great number of light cruisers, destroyers, submarines, mine-layers, etc., may be many times stronger than two or more battleships accompanied by only a small force of such auxiliaries. The inadequacy of partial limitation by agreement is manifest, unless the nations individually should freely choose to extend such limitation to include all types of ships.

Under these circumstances of partial failure of the Conference America again set a conspicuous example of sacrifice, in the hope of giving permanence to the spirit of the limitation, even though its letter was deficient. Such hope was translated into no uncertain terms. The naval enlisted personnel was reduced almost immediately to more than thirty per cent below the minimum peace requirement for a 5–5–3 navy of all types. Out of a total of 280 first-line destroyers more than 170 were laid up out of commission, with practically no naval personnel on board, and a risk of serious deterioration thus incurred. This notwithstanding a great deficiency relative to other Powers in light cruisers, for which destroyers may serve as a partial substitute. More than seventy other ships of various types permitted by the Treaty to be retained were also placed out of commission. The letting of contracts was suspended for a number of additional destroyers and submarines whose construction was already authorized by Congress and was not prohibited by the treaty. In spite of a complete lack of modern light cruisers in the Navy compared with 41 of this type possessed by Great Britain, 11 by Japan, 4 by France, and 5 by Italy, we refrained from undertaking or projecting the construction of any new ones. It is true that work upon 10 already in an advanced state of completion was continued, but these had their counterparts in the new construction in hand in other navies. In general substance, the United States reduced her Navy as a whole to less than seventy per cent of that allowed her by the letter and spirit of the treaties.

The hope that this impressive post-Conference example might influence other nations to extend the principle of limitation to all classes of ships, and to reduce their aggregate forces substantially below the strength fixed by the Treaty, seems to have been vain. The resumption of competition has already begun.

Five months after the Conference adjourned Japan announced a revision of her pre-Conference building programme for auxiliary naval types. To the 10 or 11 light cruisers already under construction were added 8 or 9 more. Similarly, about 24 destroyers and 24 large submarines were projected to augment nearly the same number then on the stocks. It was not made clear that the above is the maximum in these types which Japan intended to complete before 1927.

The eminent British naval authority, Mr. H. C. Bywater, states that this building programme revision was made by the Japanese with the object of rectifying the deficiency in battleships as represented by the 5–3 ratio. He states further that the characteristics of the newly projected Japanese ships preclude the assumption of purely defensive objects; that "no reasonable doubt exists as to the purpose for which all these swift Japanese cruisers and huge underwater boats are being built; . . . they are designed for attacking an enemy's communications and merchant shipping, for carrying out oversea raids, and generally for offensive operations at a great distance from their home ports." The same authority estimates that, considering

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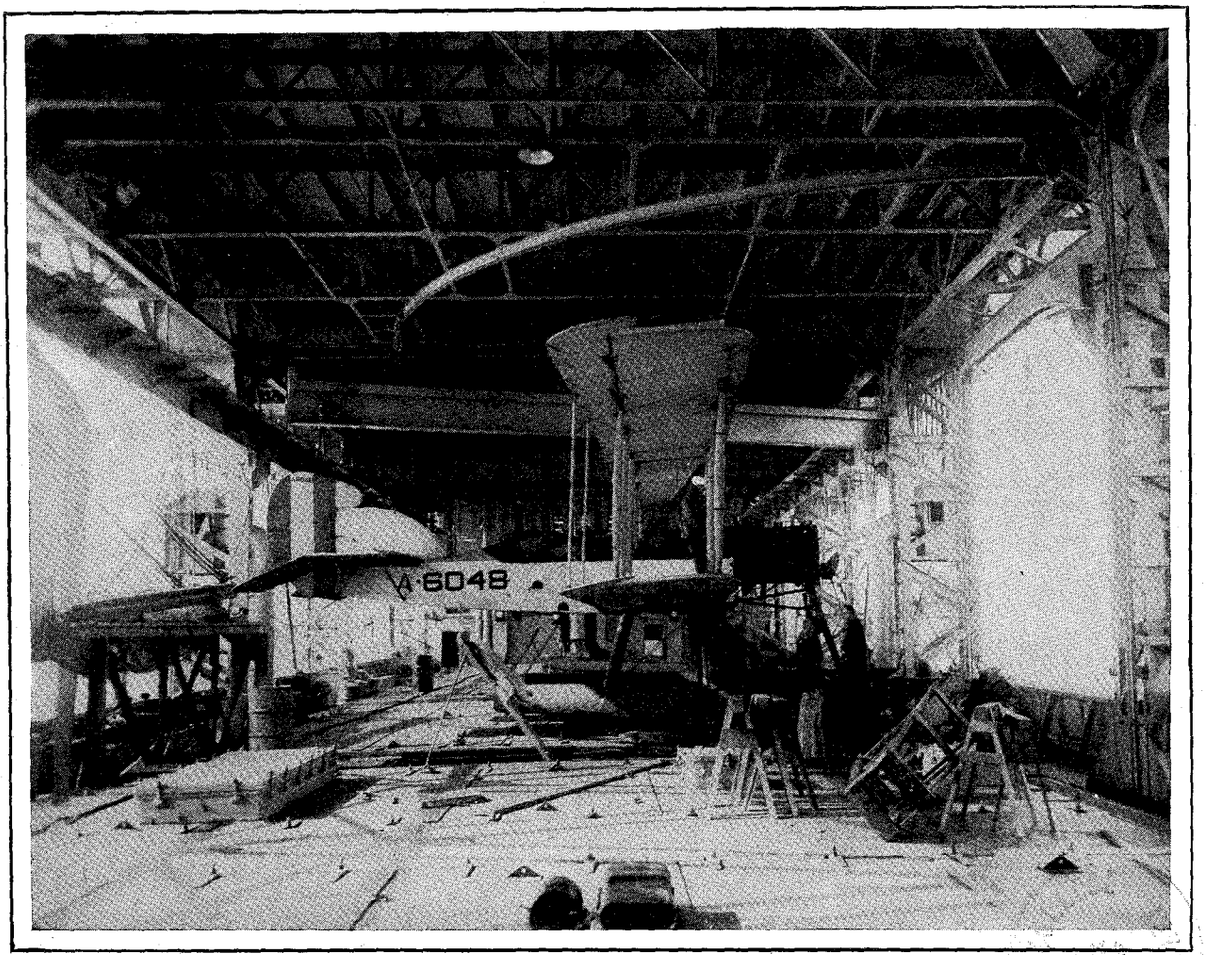

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A NAVAL SEAPLANE ON THE LOWER DECK OF THE U. S. S. LANGLEY. SEAPLANES ARE CARRIED TO THE UPPER DECK BY AN ELEVATOR AND THERE LAUNCHED BY A CATAPULT

Japan's new programme, the ratio of strength in light cruisers is: Japan, 3; United States, 1; and in submarines Japan 7, compared with about 5½ for us.

Four months after Japan's decision for new construction was published Great Britain announced a programme for two new great battleships. There is absolutely no need for such additional vessels to maintain Britain's overwhelming preponderance against any possible combination of European navies, or against any other navy except that of the United States. Even against us the building of these ships means much more than an endeavor merely to preserve an equality. The naval status under the treaties gave England a substantial superiority over us by reason of her surplus of auxiliary naval vessels, her luxury of overseas bases, her great merchant marine, her superabundance of seafaring population, and other important elements of naval strength. Yet, in spite of all this, and in addition, notwithstanding our drastic reductions of naval strength below Treaty limits, Britain now decides to maintain her full treaty quota of battleships. Like Japan, she fails to respond to our example of cutting armaments below the allowances and ceasing competitive building.

It is not alone in new construction that Britain and Japan have failed to follow our lead of downward competition. Their last naval budget, which would exclude the projected construction, was in each case roughly forty per cent greater than ours on a 5–5–3 basis. Yet, relatively speaking, they are paupers and we are rolling in wealth. The personnel question furnishes another example. Our cut to less than seventy per cent of the peace requirements of personnel for the "Treaty Navy" has not been met even approximately. Both Britain and Japan have kept practically full peace complements. The significance of this cannot be appreciated without considering that Britain's Naval Reserve is three times greater than ours, and Japan's more than twice as great. Moreover, the reservoir of maritime population of both these Powers is very much greater.

From time to time misleading headlines and statements in our press have given the impression that Japan and Britain are anticipating ratification of the Treaty in the execution of their scrapping programme. It is true that they have scrapped some obsolete vessels of no practical value, and have taken a few steps preliminary to scrapping other somewhat antiquated ships of very doubtful value. But the United States has done likewise. None of us have substantially altered our battleship strength. Most of the preliminary work can be easily restored at small cost in case the Treaty ratifications fail to be exchanged. The evidence afforded by the scrapping situation is inconclusive as to the influence of the spirit of the treaties upon the nations that are concerned.

Now that the election is past, there is opportunity for America to review her naval situation exclusive of any political element. The question is properly National, and not partisan. Persistence in the effort towards progressive disarmament by example appears certain to result in an early reduction of our naval power out of all proportion to our National interests and welfare. Already the true ratio of naval strength, disregarding any consideration of strategic theaters of operation, stands at about United States 4, Great Britain 5, Japan 3. For operations in the western Pacific, where an effort to defend the Philippines would necessarily take our fleet, the existing ratio is about Japan 3, United States 2. Moreover, we are steadily losing aggregate strength while the others are gaining. The deterioration of our ships is much more rapid than theirs,

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owing to our insufficient personnel. For the same reason our efficiency is crumbling, while theirs remains virtually constant. We have no new ships projected to balance the prospective increase in the navies of Britain and Japan. Surely the situation calls for a prompt remedy. None other than a restoration of the 5–5–3 ratio will suffice.

II—THE PROBLEM OF TO-MORROW

BY COMMANDER B. B. WYGANT, UNITED STATES NAVY

ENGLAND, by accepting the naval ratio proposed by Mr. Hughes a year ago, sacrificed her position as the foremost naval power in the world, in a manner to elicit admiration from all those whose eyes were not so covered with the film of prejudice as to blind them to the greatness of the sacrifice.

And it hurt.

Can it be supposed for an instant that it was easy to relinquish that which has been so jealously kept and guarded for centuries—no longer to boast that "Britannia rules the waves"?

Japan also made sacrifices.

After her experience following the war with China, when she was forced by aliens to give up the fruit of victory, Port Arthur, only to view in bitterness of heart its calm appropriation by rapacious Russia; and in view of the general feeling, whether justified or not, that she was outwitted at Portsmouth, is it to be wondered at that she should be apprehensive as to the results of Conferences? The decision to participate at all was taken with misgiving. Another sacrifice that Japan had to make was in the position of inferiority that she was forced to take before the world. This was translated in material terms, by the 5–5–3 ratio, and she has sworn to preserve this status of inferiority for fifteen years.

It is all very well to say that Japan's navy was actually in less proportion than that decided upon; nevertheless that proportion would not have obtained for long without a very material increase in the American Navy over that already authorized.[1]

The relative status in capital ships will now obtain for at least fifteen years.

It is true to say that England is financially unable to pit herself against America in a competition of armament, but this fact does not vitiate the sacrifice.

The essential thing about a sacrifice is that it shall be thought a sacrifice, for "thinking makes it so."

And America has given most of all.

She has sacrificed the certainty of sea supremacy should she have desired it.

With a greatness of generosity that becomes her greatness of power, she has flung away three hundred millions and more of construction so as fittingly to set the example of lofty purpose. And this is far beyond what she has called for from others. Added to these are the possibly lesser sacrifices entailed by the operation of the other agreements; sacrifices that are inseparable from any cooperative action.

As a result of the Conference there will, for the present, be less spending of money in peace for war preparation, but the greatest gain of this meeting cannot be measured in money values.

The supreme service that the Conference has rendered mankind is in the advance made in national understanding, perhaps the greatest achievement in that direction ever accomplished.

This brief and entirely inadequate appreciation of the results of the Conference is necessary in order that what follows may not lead to the belief that the Conference as an influence for good has been underestimated.

If one talks with others about the causes of events, there will always be found a vast disparity in methods of reasoning. Ask who began the war, for instance.

"The Kaiser," says one, "with a cynical disregard for the results of his ambition."

"Prussianism and its insistence on *Deutschland über alles*," another.

"The money bags of the munition maker hungering for more fatness."

"Economics," yet another, and so on without end.

On the opposite side there is the same disagreement.

"The recalcitrance of the Slavs."

"The selfishness of England."

"The necessity of protecting the Fatherland ringed about with enemies."

Now the strange thing about it is that there is at least a grain of truth in practically all the causes that are set forth.

There were a million and more causes of the war, and the fact that one cause operated does not at all prevent the other causes from having done so.

This is a hard thing for the mind to grasp.

Just because the cause of the war lay in Germany's wish to "assure her place in the sun" does not controvert the fact that it also lay in the desire of Russia to protect Serbia from the bullying of Austria.

Just because America entered the war animated by the highest ideals of right and justice does not disprove the fact that she also entered it because American ships were being sunk.

What are the causes of war?

What drives a nail?

The hammer?

The arm that wields the hammer?

The man that builds the house?

The thought that planned the house?

Causes and effects in this world are not simple, they are infinitely complex.

The causes of war are many and complex.

Selfishness and the hate of selfishness, greed and the hate of greed, the nature of man and the desire to improve that nature—all are among the causes of past wars and will be found among the causes of future wars.

The Conference on the Limitation of Armaments has done a mighty service, but to believe that the limitation of armaments or the concluding of the Four Power Treaty or any other accomplishment of the Conference has removed the probability of war is unutterably fatuous, as fatuous as to deny that wars may not sometime cease forever.

The results achieved may, indeed probably will, lessen the probability of war, but there is no hope that the likelihood of war does not now exist.

Conflict is of the essence of nature.

Man has systematized the process, but he has *not yet* suppressed the tendency.

Let us consider a few of the more probable causes of war.

The habitable parts of the world are being rapidly filled up and those parts already filled are being stuffed to overflowing.

It needs no seer to predict the friction that is bound to accompany the crowding and redistribution of peoples in the near future; that is, when the present unoccupied or sparsely occupied places are comfortably filled. The Conference, being convened principally for other purposes, has only very indirectly touched upon these questions.

Another prolific present cause of friction, and consequently a potential cause of conflict, lies in the artificial obstructions, in the form of tariffs, placed in the way of the free distribution of raw materials and of manufactured products throughout the world. The business man and the workingman are at one in their demand for the levying of these taxes, seeing correctly enough their immediate interest in their exaction and not being able to visualize the eventual benefit that would universally result from their elimination.

The Conference was not concerned with the settlement of these questions save in a very minor and unimportant way.

In addition to this strong desire to restrict the amount of foreign goods that enters into one's own country there runs along parallel with it an equally strong desire to sell one's own goods in foreign countries, as shown in the struggle for the markets of the world.

In the United States, for example, the loss of foreign markets with the stop-

[1] The displacement tonnage ratio between capital ships of the United States and Japan after authorized programmes had been completed on January 1, 1928, would have been about 100 to 93.

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page of certain exports would throw thousands of men out of work, with ensuing disarrangement of the industrial fabric. Suppose that the export of manufactured steel were stopped for three months. We export over three hundred million dollars' worth in that time. Not only would steel plants be shut down but all other industries would be affected, shares of other stocks would go down, there would be much selling on the exchanges, less money to be put into productive enterprise, and so much consequent loss in wages. It is imperative for the preservation of industrial contentment that markets be found.

Now, the American workingman demands, and justly demands, a standard of living that not only must be kept high, but one that must be bettering itself continually. So long as domestic demand increases sufficiently fast there is no great necessity for foreign markets in order to insure an increasing wage, but eventually a population saturation point will be reached, and just as the population must then overflow (or the increase must be stopped), so likewise must the distribution of goods overflow or else the condition of the worker becomes static.

These great forces of economics are only just beginning to be felt in their strength, owing to the comparative past sparseness of the population of the world.

The Conference did not, and probably could not, really help this situation much. The principle of the Open Door in China has been reaffirmed and other agreements have been made, but the struggle for markets in the undeveloped regions will continue.

Of the countless causes that tend to create misunderstanding and conflict, three rather important ones have been mentioned:

The pressure of population.

The artificial impediments in the way of free flow of goods.

The struggle for markets.

These causes will apply with particular force to America, fast becoming settled, apparently rooted in the habit of erecting trade barriers, and rightly jealous of the standard of living that prevails.

What does all this mean?

It means that the likelihood of war in the world is great in the rather near future.

It means that America as the greatest nation of the earth cannot escape the chance of involvement, indeed the certainty of it indirectly and the probability of it directly.

By virtue of possessing the next most powerful navy in the world, and financial and industrial strength far surpassing that of any other nation in the world, America was able to call such a conference as was held with a practical certainty that such a call would be well received, and was able to dominate this conference. We still retain numerical equality with the most powerful nation in capital ships, but have given up the possibility of such numerical superiority as would in itself have insured success in future war, which superiority could have been retained only at great expense. This was done by the expressed will of the American people and under the direction of four of the ablest statesmen in the country. It was well done, and well it is that it was done, but the voluntary reduction of our Navy was evidently made with the understanding that the agreement would be lived up to and that, in view of the dangers that confront us as set forth above, such reduction was the maximum consistent with our National safety.

Are we living up to the terms of this agreement?

The capital ship strength of our Navy was specifically defined, but that is only a part of the Navy, for "Men fight, not ships."

If we are to have a Navy, it must be clearly borne in mind that it exists for one purpose, and but for one, and that is *to win war*. Anybody can fight, but the best man wins. The Navy of the United States must be able to win in any war that we may become involved in, and, being restricted as to numbers, it can win only by superiority in efficiency.

How are we to obtain that efficiency?

It can be obtained only by sending the ships to sea. Ships laid up deteriorate rapidly, while at sea they have to be kept up to the mark. At sea any defects in construction will develop and are corrected, while in port they may exist unknown. It is only by keeping all of our ships manned and at sea much of the time that we can be assured of that degree of efficiency in machinery, gunnery, and communications which is essential to victory.

And the officers and men, how are they to learn to make war while the ships are tied up to a dock or lying at anchor? True, much can be accomplished by study on the part of those in high command, but all the study in the world is useless without actual practice as nearly like that which will be encountered in war as is possible to obtain. Ships newly manned are practically useless for fighting until their crews have lived and worked together for some time. We have many examples of that in history. Vivid in the memory of Americans is the case of brave Lawrence, who went to his death in the Chesapeake. The French fleet blockaded for twenty-two months in Toulon by Nelson, who kept the sea during that whole period, is another. When the French ships went to sea they lost their topmasts in a gale and had to put back into port for repairs, while Nelson's ships, manned by experienced sailors, suffered not at all.

It needs salt spray to make a sailor; it needs target practice to make a gunner; it needs maneuvers to make a tactician; and these can be had only by sending our ships to sea.

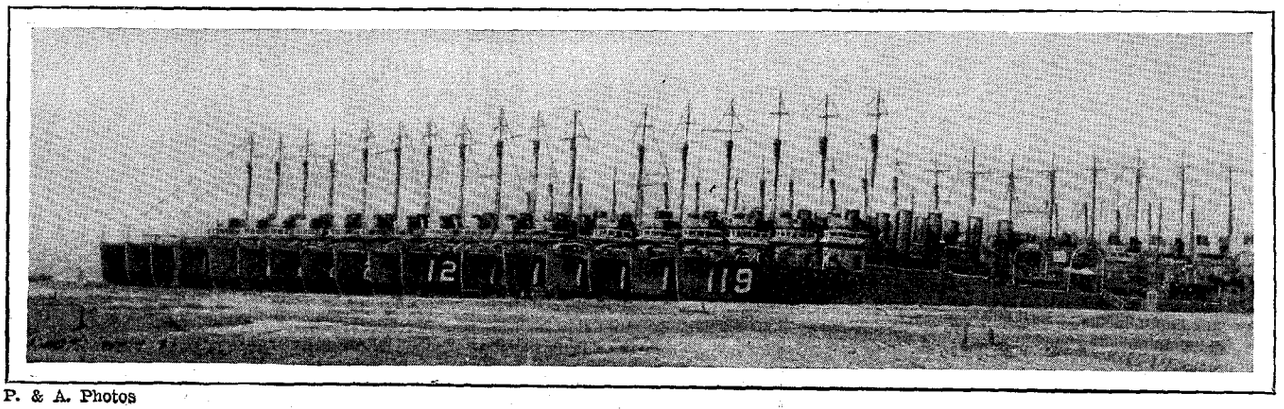
The American people are heavily burdened by debt and are sorely taxed to pay it, but they have the right to have the situation put before them clearly before making a final decision.

It has been determined that we need a Navy to use in war.

This Navy is of no use unless it can win.

The only way to insure its winning is to enable it to keep the ships in commission and send them to sea and pay the price.

If after hearing the facts the American people are content to have a moderately good Navy instead of the best Navy, that is their undoubted privilege. When war comes, the Navy, whatever there is of it, will do its level best, but if inadequately trained many a mother's son will meet his death who would have been living but for lack of a fighting chance.



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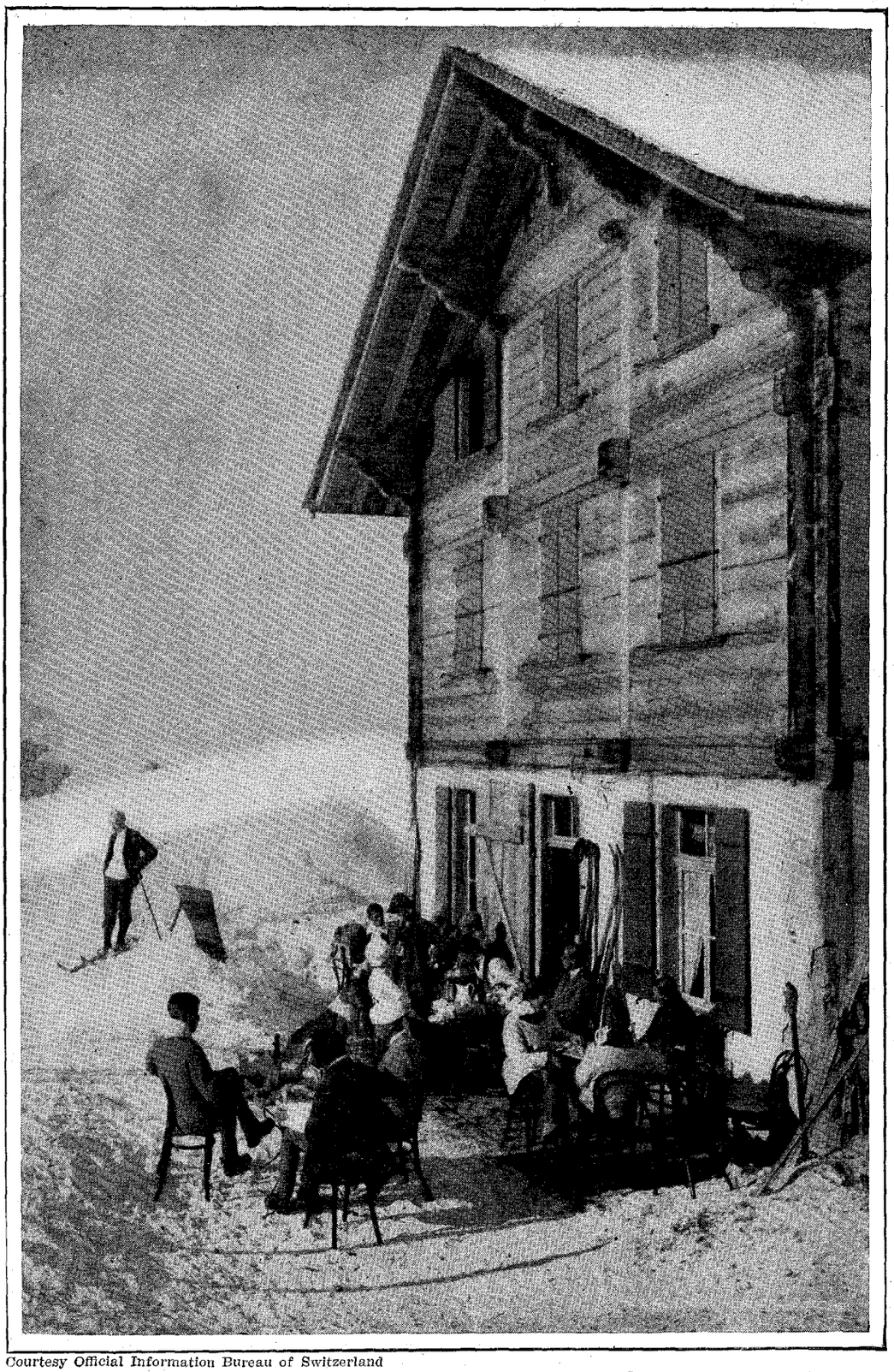
HUMAN SNOWBIRDS

PICTURE FROM AN OUTLOOK READER



Courtesy Official Information Bureau of Switzerland

A PARTY OF SKIERS ENJOYING AN OPEN-AIR LUNCHEON ON THE SUMMIT OF THE HAHNENMOOS PASS ABOVE ADELBODEN, BERNESE OBERLAND, SWITZERLAND

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THE BOOK TABLE

A PHILOSOPHER FROM THE PLATE

BY LLOYD MORRIS

OUR acquaintance, in the United States, with the contemporary literature of Latin America is so restricted that Mr. Stimson's felicitous translation of the "Ariel" of José Enrique Rodó[1] is to be regarded as especially auspicious. For it serves to introduce to an English-speaking audience the work of a writer whose influence has extended wherever Spanish is spoken, a philosopher whose ideas found expression in unusual beauty.

Rodó was born in Montevideo, Uruguay, exactly fifty years ago. His youth was spent in an atmosphere of scholarship, and at twenty-six he was Professor of Literature in the university of his native city. Three years later he deserted academic life to enter politics, and for a considerable time was a member of the national Parliament. The sixteen years from 1901 to 1917 were compact with activities at once various and uniform; from every field touched by his interests Rodó drew nourishment for his philosophy of idealism. His personal life was remarkably of a piece with his central doctrine of perpetual and unremitting self-renovation. *"Reformase es vivir"* (to recreate one's self is to live) are the opening words of his most notable book; like Emerson, he counseled that we should "live ever in a new day." And he put his theories vigorously to the test. Parliamentary debate, miscellaneous journalism, economic investigation, and the criticism of literature and art he successively turned to account in applying his theory of life to divergent spheres of human interest; could any subject be alien to one whose ideal was the complete man? His intellectual concentration was as intense as its expression was various, for his writings reveal a familiarity with foreign literature that might well be envied by a mind devoted exclusively to scholarship. Rodó insistently advocated the necessity of travel as a means of self-renovation; ironically, he never left Montevideo until 1917, when he was appointed European correspondent by "Caras y Caretas," a Buenos Aires weekly journal of wide influence. He went to Spain, proceeded almost immediately to Italy, and after a brief illness died at Palermo in May, 1917. Three years later, with much ceremony, his body was brought back to Montevideo to be buried beneath a magnificent monument erected by the nation.

"Ariel," his earliest and in some ways his most charming book, is an excellent introduction to those central ideas which he later amplified to their full philosophic implications in the "Motivos de Proteo" (Motives of Proteus). Taking the form of the imaginary valedictory of a spiritual teacher to the students who are about to leave him, it is less a statement of a theory of life than an invitation to formulate one. It is an eloquent summons to the humane life as the Greeks defined it, a poetic defense of the claims of Ariel rather than Caliban to determine the ideals of civilization. Life in Greece, he observes, was held to be noble only when it was founded upon "the concert of all human faculties, in the free and chartered liberty of all energies capable of contributing to the power and glory of mankind." Thus it was that Athens "could exalt at once the feeling for the ideal with the real, reason with instinct, the forces of the body with those of the spirit. It chiseled clear the four sides to the soul." This rational and harmonious development of the multiple forces of personality constituted for Rodó the culture of the humane life. "The basic principle of your development," he says, ". . . should be to maintain the integrity of your humanity. No one function should ever prevail over that final end. No isolated force can satisfy all reasonable objects of individual existence, as it cannot alone produce the ordered concert of collective existence. And, like deformity or dwarfing to the body, is, to the soul, the result of an exclusive object imposed on individual action and a single manner of culture."

Social evolution, he points out, results in the growing complexity of civilization in a constantly increasing heterogeneity in life. As general culture increases, the field of individual activity tends to be more and more restricted to narrow specialization. But the humane life demands, not the intensive cultivation of a single aptitude, but the balanced exercise of all human capacities; how, then, is the determinism of individual vocation, the tyranny of materialism, to be circumvented? Rodó, like

Courtesy of the New York Times

JOSÉ ENRIQUE RODÓ

[1] Ariel. By José Enrique Rodó. Translated, with an Introductory Essay, by F. J. Stimson. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.25.

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Emerson, would answer, that to live the life of reason means to share nobly in as many forms of experience as we may: "Shrug not your shoulders before any noble and fecund manifestation of human nature, under the pretext that your own individuality ties you of preference to a different one. Be attentive spectators where you may not be actors." He seems here to foreshadow the theory that Croce, applying to the materials of æsthetics, has contributed toward our understanding of art; that the function of the spectator is to recreate the experience of the artist. So Rodó, counseling the enlargement of the inner life, points a way to vicarious experience.

One of Rodó's most notable contributions to the interpretation of ideas is his sense of the epic significance of the doctrine of evolution. Very largely that doctrine has served modern thought by clarifying our sense of the past, and its distinctive emphasis both in philosophy and literature has been upon the lowly origin of life. But for Rodó its implications in the future are far more valuable. If the present is the sum total, the complete consequence of an infinite past, why should not its chief value be what it portends of the future? Thus he counsels that "every one who devotes himself to propagate and preserve in contemporary America a disinterested ideal of the soul—art, science, ethics, religious belief, a political policy of ideals—should educate his belief in the persevering preparation for the future." It is to the interest of this future no less than to the satisfaction of the present that the individual shall cultivate his own capacities to the fullest extent possible. The reason for this, only hinted at in "Ariel," is stated at some length in the "Motivos" in that doctrine of perpetual self-renovation which gave to Rodó's philosophy the name of "proteanism." In every human being, he says, there is an inexhaustible reservoir of spiritual capacities, largely unknown. This reservoir enables us, if we fail in one direction, to seek a new orientation, since the frustration of one power is compensated for by the discovery of another. Every one should therefore be the Columbus of his own personality, since reality and the future, as well as the past, lie within us. Life is a perpetual becoming, and so is truth; it is therefore the duty of the individual constantly to subject his ideas and feelings to the test of new knowledge as it is created. In that way alone is it possible to insure control of experience by the spirit.

"Ariel," which is an invitation to this life of the spirit, is likewise a denunciation of the philosophy of utilitarianism. Rodó finds two causes assigned for the dominion exercised by utilitarian ideals: the tremendous discoveries of natural science and the wide diffusion of democratic ideas. To offset the conception of science as serving only through its practical applications, Rodó recalls to our minds the ideals of pure science; we should not, he warns us, confuse the search for truth with the perfection of mechanical conveniences. Nor does he find in the ideals of democracy any inherent materialism. Can democracy, he asks, meet the tests of culture and civilization? The question is complicated by the fact that in the Western Hemisphere the first hundred years of democratic experiment were largely preoccupied with the conquest of physical nature. Like science, democracy was under the necessity of being practical. But the final test is not one of materialism: "The civilization of a country acquires its grandeur not by its manifestations of material prosperity and predominance, but by the higher order of thinking and feeling thereby made possible." Democracy begins by leveling unjust superiorities, but the spiritual world, as well as the natural, abhors an absolute equilibrium. By proclaiming the universality and equality of human rights democracy will ultimately proclaim the predominance of mere number unless it carefully maintains some conception of legitimate superiorities, such, for example, as moral excellence. In this, as in other matters, Rodó puts his faith in science, joining to the conception of equality of opportunity the doctrine of natural selection in the moral domain. To that consecration of mediocrity which to him appears to be the most damaging perversion of democracy he opposes the ideal of a democracy that is "just and noble, impelled only by the knowledge and sense of true superiorities, in which the supremacy of intelligence and virtue, the only limits to the just equality of man, receives its authority and prestige from liberty."

The work of Rodó has very directly influenced thought both throughout South America and in Spain, not only in its expression in literature, but in the theory and practice of education as well. Like Emerson and Whitman in the United States, like Ruskin and Arnold in England, his concern was to reinterpret for his time the final values discerned by the spirit. He enunciated no definition of *the* truth—for him truth, like life, is in process of becoming—but rather directed his energy to sowing a disinterested desire for knowledge and beauty as the two paths upon which truth may be met.

THE NEW BOOKS

FICTION

CAPPY RICKS RETIRES. By Peter B. Kyne. *Illustrated.* The Cosmopolitan Press, New York. $2.

Cappy Ricks, our friend of former stories, retires, and not once but several times; and the more he retires, the more he comes back, bubbling over with energy, courage, and generosity. The first part of this book is one of the liveliest sea tales of the war ever written.

CLAIR DE LUNE. By Anthony Pryde. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2.

Mr. Pryde's stories always give the satisfaction of introducing the reader to people who talk and act like intelligent and cultivated persons. He always has a story situation also to which the talk and incidents lead up, so that the interest really does culminate at the climax. The present story certainly is as well written as any of his books, though his two earliest novels were tenser and more vivid.

KINGMAKERS (THE). By Burton E. Stevenson. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.90.

One of the best of all the many tales that center about revolutions and plots of restoration in imaginary petty kingdoms in the east of Europe. Here the plotting itself takes place in Monte Carlo, and the poor king never does get his crown back. We won't say that this story is as charmingly written as Stevenson's "Prince Otto," but it is as good as or better than "The Prisoner of Zenda."

MYSTERIOUS OFFICE (THE). By Jeannette Lee. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.75.

A woman detective, who (as in a former book) unearths criminals on the condition that she shall start them in a straight line if possible, here unravels the queer theft of $25,000 in bills from the top of a desk. Any one of several people might have taken it; three (we believe) confessed to taking it; none of those three did take it.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY BEGINNINGS. By Henry E. Chambers. *Illustrated.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $4.50.

The early history of the Mississippi Valley is told in this well-printed book in a pleasant narrative style that makes easy reading. The settling of this great valley constituted one of the most important phases of America's development, and it deserves the ample and sympathetic treatment here given.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

NEIGHBORS HENCEFORTH. By Owen Wister. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.

Mr. Wister writes with strong feeling and an acute sense of character and human passion about American, French, and English soldiers in the Great War. He segregates individuals and makes them talk and act as real men, not like tin-hatted gods or moral idealists. Incident and talk are selected so as to throw out the reality of the fighting men who certainly should and must henceforth be neighbors.

MISCELLANEOUS

EVENING POST (THE). By Allan Nevins. Boni & Liveright, New York. $3.50.

Reading the New York "Evening Post" would be an education in itself, if uneducated readers were eager to accept the "Post" as an Alma Mater. But its appeal has always been to the highly educated—to people of scholarly instincts, of fastidious tastes, of high intellectual standards. Despite, however, the limited circulation imposed by its quality, the "Evening Post" has for more

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than a century of our National history been an influential factor in making that history; and the story of its career and influence is here told in a way that is highly interesting. The book is by no means merely a friendly encomium of a newspaper by one of its editorial staff; it is an independent, virile study and review. Alexander Hamilton, William Cullen Bryant, John Bigelow, and E. L. Godkin, as chiefs of the "Post," made it one of the world's great newspapers and set standards that are loyally followed by its present editors. Every newspaper man, every thoughtful newspaper reader, would be the better and wiser for becoming familiar with the contents of this book.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

HUNTERS OF THE GREAT NORTH. By Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Illustrated. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York. $2.50.

Mr. Stefansson is a first-class writing man as well as a first-class hunter and explorer, and no one, young or old, can take up this book without becoming absorbed in its accounts of Arctic life. The author has many original points of view, and when he takes the reader into his confidence as to these, his pages are most entertaining.

INCA LAND. By Hiram Bingham. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $5.

Professor Bingham tells in this handsome and well-illustrated volume the story of his expeditions in Peru conducted in recent years under the auspices of Yale University and the National Geographic Society. The remarkable discovery of the Inca city of Machu Picchu receives extended treatment, and the account will prove of absorbing interest alike to the archæologist and the lover of travel books.

BOOKS RECEIVED

BIOGRAPHY

EMINENT EUROPEANS. By Eugene S. Bagger. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.50.

'INDISCRETIONS' OF LADY SUSAN. By Lady Susan Townley. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $5.

MY LIFE AND SOME LETTERS. By Mrs. Patrick Campbell. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $5.

NATHAN CLIFFORD, DEMOCRAT. By Philip Greely Clifford. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $3.50.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

BRAZIL TODAY AND TOMORROW. By L. E. Elliott. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York. $3.

POETRY

BOOKMAN ANTHOLOGY OF VERSE (THE). By John Farrar. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.50.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

STUDIES IN LITERATURE. By Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.50.

MISCELLANEOUS

CANDIDE. By Voltaire. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $5.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES (THE). By James M. Beck. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $2.

HORNY HANDS AND HAMPERED ELBOWS. By Whiting Williams. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50.

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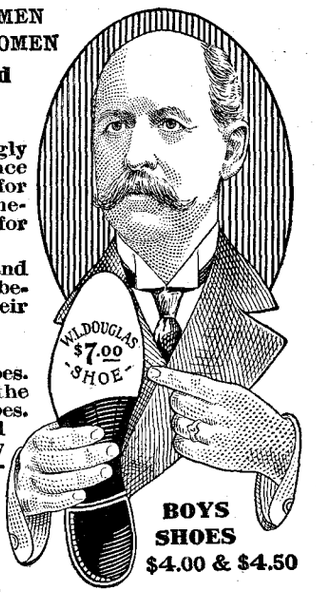

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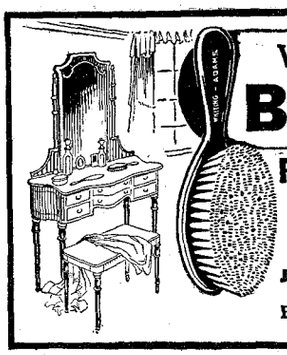

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EVERYBODY'S MONEY

BY LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER K. C. McINTOSH, SC., U. S. N.

FOR generations a quarrel has been carried on between economists on the subject of money and prices. The bone of contention is the so-called "quantity theory." Those who uphold it will seldom admit that there is even a subject for dispute involved—that the quantity theory is sufficiently obvious to be axiomatic. Their opponents are equally certain that to believe in the correctness of the quantity theory implies a lack of fundamental logic—almost of good sense. Outside of the quarrel are the only persons to whom the solution is of any real import. Laws of price are everybody's business, and currency legislation is every one's concern. Our money must be dependable or we cannot get our business done.

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thing as money with a dissonance of opinion equal to that of the blind men about the elephant it is evident that they have different definitions for money.

The definitions usually given in the textbooks are in support of that statement. Does an exact definition exist in any standard text? If so, does it stand unchallenged? I believe not. Text after text, however, defines the *qualities* necessary for any commodity to possess in order to serve as Money. And four times out of five, after giving them, the same texts will later call a Federal Reserve note "money" and debate whether or not checks are "money." One chapter will be headed "Money" and the next "Credit." A succeeding chapter lumps them both and treats them alike under guise of currency or circulation or media of exchange.

In my pocketbook at present are four bills: a $20 Federal Reserve note, a $10 gold certificate, a $5 note of the Series of 1890, and a $1 silver certificate. How much *money* have I?

Starting at the only point upon which all schools of economic thought agree, each bill represents something. If that something has the *qualities necessary to serve as money*, the *bill* may be called a title deed to money. In other words, it proves that I have money somewhere. If, however, the something represented has not those qualities, I submit that my possession of the bill is evidence of something entirely different.

The $20 bill is new and unworn. Presumably the 90 or 120 days of maturity of the trade acceptances or other paper behind it are incomplete. This bill, then, at a 4 per cent rediscount rate, really proves, in the last analysis, that I have a prior lien upon $20.84 worth of, say, bolts and nuts, now being unpacked by a retailer; and that I am secured against loss through the sale of those bolts and nuts by the ample margin of about $16 in gold. I do not own that gold. It is merely arrested temporarily and held until the Federal Reserve Bank proves to me that my $20.84 worth of bolts and nuts will really sell for that much. Obviously, my bill does not represent anything which can be used as money except that $16 in gold, and *I do not own that*. This bill cannot be money.

Now the $10 bill. It states plainly that in the vaults of the Treasury there lie two hundred and thirty-two and two-tenths grains of gold; that the gold is mine; and that I can get it if I go and ask for it. This is money without a doubt.

Next, I have a green and black bill stating that the United States will pay me $5. That is all it says. It means that this great country of ours owes me $5 and admits it—nothing else. It is a loan without interest. Five dollars' worth of my work has been paid for with the Government's credit—nothing else. This bill is not money. It is the same sort of promissory note that you and I might issue.

Lastly, another bill offers me "One Silver Dollar"—*not* "One Dollar in Sil-

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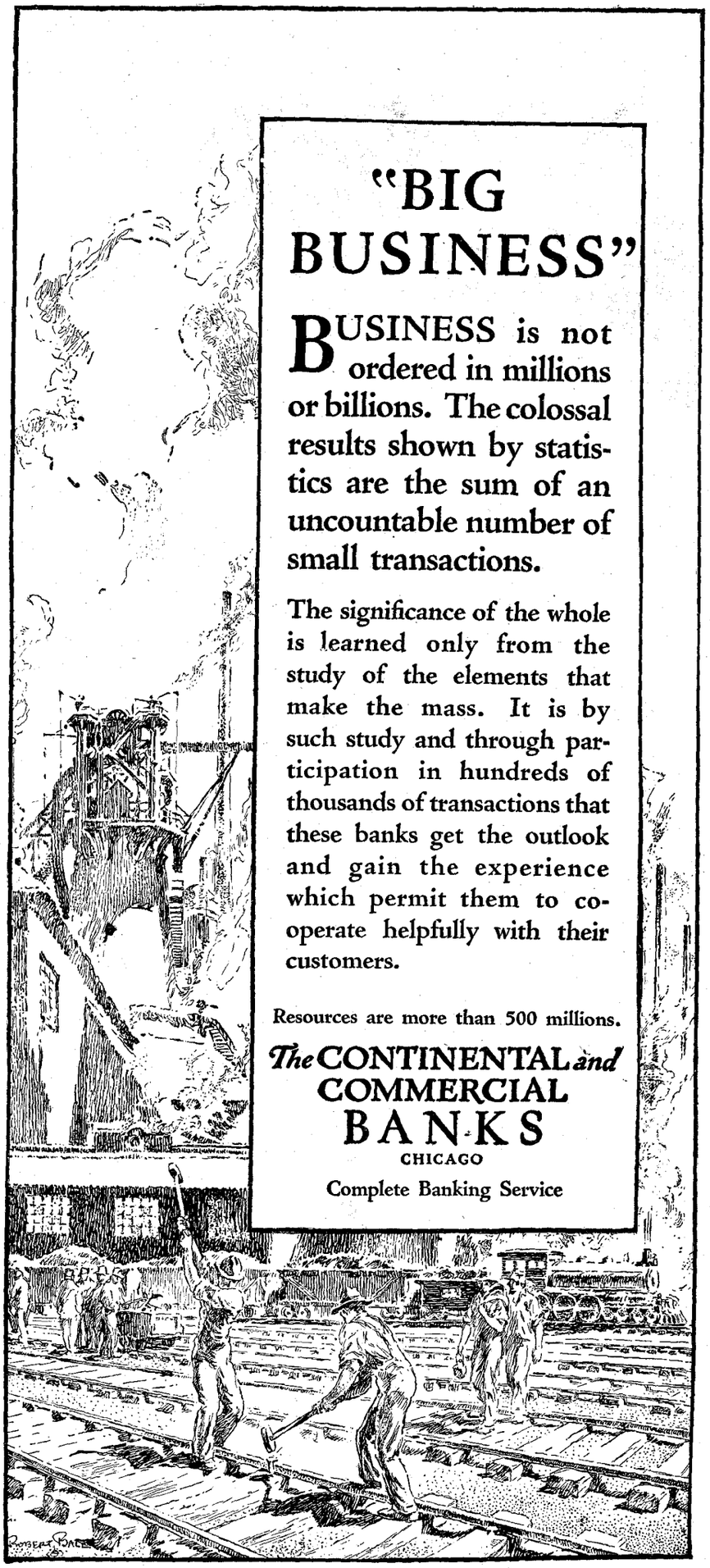
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(*Continued*)

ver." It does not state whether the dollar was coined from 60-cent pre-war silver or dollar-an-ounce Pittman Act silver; so I do not know whether my dollar is worth 40 cents or more, or 60 cents or less. Call it 50 cents, with the brassage. This bill, then, means that I own half a dollar in money and another half-dollar in promises.

This completes the inventory, and I find that I have only $10.50 in money in my possession. I do not feel aggrieved, however, for the credit is liquid and negotiable. It is "good." I may have little money, but I have $36 worth of power—power-in-exchange represented by currency. I do not care whether the power arises from gold, silver, promises, or bolts and nuts. It is good power, and I have it. Its source no more concerns me than the name of the chef who cooked my dinner.

Lifting a sack of wheat or a barrel of molasses requires one sort of power. Completing a business transaction, great or small, requires another kind; but whether muscle or purchase is involved, power is required. Can any one contend that the more muscle a man has, the harder he must work to shoulder a bushel of wheat? Is the amount of power necessary to do anything measured by the power one happens to have? *Does the size of the units by which power is computed change the total amount necessary to get our busines done?* Of course not. The power required is regulated by the business itself, by the weight and inertia of the wheat, by the power-in-exchange of the thing we buy.

In my four bills power is represented by four different things—three of the commodities and the fourth a psychological phenomenon. The gold I am certain about. I know what it is worth the world over. I know that its power-in-exchange is not stable; but I know that it changes very slowly—more slowly than any other commodity possessing the necessary "qualities." The silver in which I have title is, I know, worth less than I gave for it; but I have the Government's word that I will not lose when I pass that bill along to another man, and I believe the Government.

The bolts and nuts are worth $20 to me *now*. They may be worth $18 or $22 next month; but I am not interested, for by that time they will have been sold and $20.84 in gold will have been paid to the Federal Reserve Bank to cover my note. I will then have money. Right now, however, I have *control* of bolts and nuts.

The Government's credit is good with me for the same reason on a larger scale. When that bill was issued, the Government had no money, but it had control of future taxes and goods.

So, broadly speaking, my power arises from two things—my *ownership* of money metal or my *mortgage* upon marketable transferable goods or future supplies of money metal. Here the streams of thought divide. We are at

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he beginning of both sides of the quan-ity theory quarrel.

The quantity theory is not a theory of noney, but a theory of credit. As a ound ninety per cent of our "currency" r "circulation," loosely called money, is redit pure and simple, it is not difficult, wever, to see why it is considered a ney theory. At the start, however and they may be in their ideas, the antity theorists stand convicted of un- and language.

In plain English, the quantity theory tates that the more units of money a ountry has, the less each one of them vill buy, *i.e.*, the higher will be the ices of "goods." They invoke the law supply and demand, and some of them y that they cannot admit even the pos-ibility of discussion.

At the start, we must rule out the pidly "anti-quantity" men who would laim absolute stability for gold and lace all the fluctuation of prices upon ther things. That is obviously a ridicu-us assumption. If gold had never been ised as money, its power-in-exchange, its relationship, would plainly depend upon ts comparative quantity and would rise and fall. Since gold, the most stable of ll commodities fit for use as money, has een chosen as money, we must not lose ight of the fact that *it is still a com-odity*, and still subject to power fluc-ation. These fluctuations, admittedly ffected by quantity, have been consid-d as money fluctuations; but they are lly fluctuations of the commodity wer, not the money power. If they ere not, we would find *two* gold prices rrent, as far apart as the two silver rices now obtaining in the United tates, and the gold would be all coin all bullion alternately, as these prices aried. It was only on account of its perior stability as a commodity that ld was selected in preference to other metals, like platinum and silver, as standard money. The commodity price f gold still rules, only partially en-hanced by its new use as money and the onsequently increased demand for gold. We use such gold as we need for Treas-ry reserves and coinage. We use the est as commodity gold. *If we coined it ll, prices in terms of money would not e affected;* we would use what coin we eeded; hoard a little, and so decrease the supply; and melt the remainder down into ingots and jewelry. No mat-r what the supply of gold *metal*, there ll never be more gold *money* in use nan people want to use. Since the price f gold is its metal price, and so a world-wide price, the amount of gold money n any given country has no effect what-ever on prices. In fact, in a country where only gold money was used in busi-ness and enough of it was in use to meet ll currency needs, we would soon find *ower* prices, not higher; for the very lumsiness of all-gold-and-no-credit would tall business into a permanent depres-ion. An increase in the quantity of gold money would make no more differ-nce than an increase of muscle to the wheat-lifter of the first part of this arti-

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cle. Some of the money and some of the muscle would remain unused, for the amount of coin we possess makes no change in the amount of metal the world possesses, and nothing else counts.

However, we do not use gold exclusively as currency, nor even as a greater percentage of our currency. Nine-tenths of our normal business legally avoids the use, not only of money, but of public or Government credit. The circulating media are private credit instruments. When the rush of optimism comes, a lot of people overvalue their ability, and sellers and lenders do not care to take too much of their private credit. To get business done they now need *public* media of exchange, and the cry arises that "money is scarce." If their business is sound, productive, and helpful, and they are selling or moving goods, they can get these media in the form of Federal Reserve notes, which are really private credit guaranteed by the Federal Government.

In the old days the Government issued its own credit—greenbacks.

In both cases prices rose and rose and kept on rising until the crash came and depression settled down; and the quantity theorists claim this as proof of their creed. Here in this country are several instances—1855, 1870, 1883, 1892, and 1919—where the supply of credit circulation was enormously increased and prices went climbing. To make it even stronger, 1919 found an unprecedented quantity of gold in this country. The case seems to be plainly proved. And yet—

In all these years the great increase in circulating "money"—and nothing but circulation can matter much—has been credit, not gold nor gold certificates. We know that gold—and so gold certificates—derives its price from its commodity power-in-exchange. We can raise or lower the price of a gold dollar suddenly only by Professor Fisher's method, by changing the amount of gold in each dollar. In this case, not the gold, but the standard dollar has changed. Instead of saying, "Each gold dollar is worth less," it is more correct to say, "*Each dollar is worth less gold.*"

Just as the only way suddenly to change the price of a gold dollar is to change its metal content, so the *only way to change the price of a credit dollar is to change its credit content.* The world's supply of credit, or a country's supply, is popularly supposed to be infinite in theory; but it is not infinite nor even indeterminate. It is merely so far, undetermined in dollars-and-cents language. The exact total we cannot tell; but we know that it is measured by the amount of *future goods we all control, by the total of the manufactures and crops and imports for the next one hundred and twenty days.* "Hindsight" can tell us exactly what our total credit volume was last year. Records of several years past and trade barometers can tell us what it should be next year. As gold is our standard—and here is our big confusion—we must measure tha

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credit in terms of gold. When we start to issue our credit dollars, however, our checks, acceptances, commercial paper, greenbacks, and Federal Reserve notes, we have, as a rule, overlooked one corner of the triangular estimate. Consequently, we have now and then got into trouble by forgetting that both credit and goods must be measured in gold, not each other. We can control supply of goods, and so affect prices; but we cannot, with a given amount of certain future production, change the price measured in gold by an abundance of credit dollars. We can change prices to you and me by too much credit money, I grant; but I submit that that has nothing to do with it, for by doing so we abandon the standard. And it is a question of standard. When the total of credit dollars exceeds the gold-dollar price of the total credit in existence, we have merely depreciated our credit standard in terms of gold. Prices are not high because a lot of credit dollars are floating about, but exactly the reverse. A lot of credit dollars appear because we have first made the gold price of credit dollars low. As soon as we do that we have two standard dollars, the gold dollar and the less valuable credit dollar. Gresham's law never fails, so we immediately have to use the bad dollars, and the good dollars drop into stockings and melting-pots. I believe that we can prove this by the same historical instances cited above in alleged support of the quantity theory.

In 1855 people had an idea that the only thing necessary to prosperity was high prices. They argued that a dollar was a dollar, and that every extra dollar was a community gain. The State banks, therefore, issued credit dollars by the bale. They kept no account of the true volume of credit, and they did not even accept gold as a standard. Consequently, the more they overestimated their credit, the lower the actual power-in-exchange of their dollars, and the more of them were necessary. Prices rose of course. Prosperity did not. In a little while (1857) our creditors wanted payment, dollar for dollar; but they wanted good, gold dollars. We had only credit dollars worth about 35 cents in gold; and we crashed, and a lot of the world went down with us.

In 1870 we had been building railways at a feverish rate, working off the excess energy left adrift at the end of the Civil War. Governments and States helped these roads excessively. We needed a great deal of circulating currency, and thought we needed even more; for we again overestimated the future production which our new transportation would inspire. The National Bank Act helped a little, but it was limited by the supply of gold bonds. To make up the deficit, we again poured out credit dollars. We had learned one lesson—that private or State bank credit would not hold up its own price; so we issued Federal credit—greenbacks. The same thing happened. The total gold price of our one hundred and twenty days' production remained the same. We simply called a smaller fraction of that production a dollar's worth, depreciated the standard, raised prices and *had* to issue more money. The smash came on settling day, as usual, but we were still stubborn. It took three failures—1873, 1884, and 1893—to teach us that gold prices rule and that we *cannot control gold prices.*

The year 1919 was different. In that year the gold standard was generally accepted and was supposed to be in force. This was not true in Europe, for gold had been abandoned through dire necessity; and the countries of Europe had to mortgage, not merely one hundred and twenty days, but many years, of future production. Gold as a world-wide medium of exchange had ceased to function. Gold continued, however, to be the "common denominator," the standard, while the gold price of currency was driven down. At the same time, the production of *goods* fell off, lowering the credit total; and demand for goods increased violently, raising prices in terms of gold. Of course a huge volume of cheap credit francs and credit pounds and credit lire appeared. They had to; but *they had nothing whatever to do with making prices.* Goods were measured in gold; the use of gold had fallen off and demand was low, and the demand for goods was tremendous. That is the story of 1919.

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COMPANION-nurse or helper to semi-invalid gentleman. Refined Protestant young man. References. 3,097, Outlook.

COMPANION-secretary. Former business woman, broad experience, industrious, capable. Highest credentials. Experienced also flower, vegetable gardening, social service work. 3,100, Outlook.

LADY highly recommends working housekeeper. Scotch; excellent cook, worker, mender, entire charge bachelor apartment. New York references. 3,101, Outlook.

YOUNG French lady of culture, ability, and exceptional character, experience as teacher in the best English schools, finishing governess in England and Italy, is open to engagement for the winter as traveling companion or teacher to young lady. Being at present in Rome, she is available immediately in Europe or would return to this country. Refer for further details to Mrs. R. G. Hazard, Dial House, Santa Barbara, Cal.

CULTURED young woman desires position social secretary, companion, hostess. References. 3,032, Outlook.

REFINED middle-aged widow, managing housekeeper or companion. 3,088, Outlook.

POSITION as nurse-companion to semi-invalid or elderly lady. Salary no object. Highest references. 3,091, Outlook.

YOUNG lady, adaptable, fond of children, some hospital training, can teach basketry, etc., desires position. Excellent references. 3,089, Outlook.

COMPANION to lady; travel, go South. Managing housekeeper, widower, one or two children. Christians. References. 3,105, Outlook.

Teachers and Governesses

GOVERNESS wants position in kind American family. French; two and a half years' experience; good musician. References. 3,095, Outlook.

MISCELLANEOUS

TO young women desiring training in the care of obstetrical patients a very thorough nurses' aid course of six months is offered by the Lying-In Hospital, 307 Second Ave., New York. Monthly allowance and full maintenance is furnished. For further information address Directress of Nurses.

MISCELLANEOUS

MISS Guthman, New York shopper, will shop for you, services free. No samples. References. 309 West 99th St.

BOYS wanted. 500 boys wanted to sell The Outlook each week. No investment necessary. Write for selling plan, Carrier Department, The Outlook Company, 381 Fourth Ave., New York City.

THE Olivia Sage School of Practical Nursing offers a one year's course in bedside nursing to a limited number of women. Pupils receive maintenance, uniform, and salary. For further information apply to Director, New York Infirmary for Women and Children, Stuyvesant Square, New York.

VERSE, original, distinctive, written for occasions—anniversary, memorial, presentation. Jolly verse for children. 3,083, Outlook.

FOR sale—Hongkong camphor chest, $25; curly maple slender post bedstead, $175. Antiques, 2039 Moravian St., Philadelphia.

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294 Good Health Building, Battle Creek, Mich.

BY THE WAY

A Negro paper quotes Stephen Graham as reporting in "The Soul of John Brown" that a Negro minister had complained to him of the absurdity of making pictures of white angels for the children of the black race. "You surely would not like them black?" said the interviewer. "We give Sunday-school cards to our children with white angels on them. It's wrong," was the reply. "Black angels would be ugly." "No more ugly than white. . . . Isn't it absurd for us to be taught that the good are all white, and that sin itself is black?" "It does seem to leave you in the shade," Mr. Graham admitted. "Expressions such as 'black as sin' ought to be deleted from the language. One might as well say, 'white as sin,'" argued the Negro. It would be interesting to know how native Africans picture their ideals of goodness. It is well known that they look upon a white skin as unbeautiful. "You who are black!" is said to have been a form of reverential address uttered in presenting a petition to the Zulu kings in olden times.

Apropos of the above paragraph, it may be noted that a holiday display of colored (black) dolls is to be seen in a Brooklyn store window in a section where Negroes live, with the sign, "Colored Dolls Sold Here."

Adam Smith, author of "The Wealth of Nations," was a keen student of current events. A letter written by him in 1776 and now offered for sale by a London bookseller reads:

". . . The American Campaign has begun awkwardly. I hope, I cannot say that I expect, it will end better. England, tho' in the present times it breeds men of great professional abilities in all different ways, great lawyers, great watchmakers, clockmakers, etc., etc., seems to breed neither statesmen nor generals."

The apple, according to an exchange, is the most famous of fruits, for it has figured in at least four stories of world-wide fame—the apple of the Garden of Eden, the golden apples of Atalanta, the apple of the William Tell legend, and the falling apple which was seen by Newton and which suggested to him the law of gravitation.

"Physical culture, father, is perfectly lovely!" exclaimed an enthusiastic young miss just home from college (as quoted in the "American Legion Weekly"). "Look! To develop the arms I grasp this rod in both hands and move it slowly from right to left."

"Well, well," replied dad, admiringly, "what won't science discover next? Why, if that rod had straw on the other end, you'd be sweeping."

Three battles in American history, according to a recent book, left no survivors. One took place in the Powder River country, near Fort Phil Kearney, where Captain Fetterman and eighty men met their death at the hands of Red Cloud's warriors in 1866. Another was in Montana on the Little Big Horn River, in 1876, when Custer and over two hundred men lost their lives. At the Alamo, in 1836, the followers of Bowie and Davy Crockett fell to a man beneath overwhelming forces under Santa Anna. "Thermopylæ had its messenger of defeat; but from the three foregoing battlefields came no survivors."

An unsolicited testimonial to a Washington physician's skill, published in the "Journal" of the American Medical Association, reads in part as follows: "I had poison oak bad. I came to you and got me relief. I will sure recomend your stuff to all the boys who are here. I believe in giving the devil what is do him and am writing so you will know that I appreshiate the same. Very truly —— ——. P. S. If I sell some of this stuff for 2 a dose can I figure on keeping the other 50c.?"

A champion girl typist told a newspaper reporter recently how she acquired her facility and endurance. "Typewriting," she said, "is like any other form of athletics. If you want to compete in speed contests you must go into training and cut out pie and coffee and other harmful things like that, and work, work, work!" Five years ago she wrote 88 words a minute. Now she can write 137 words and aims at 150.

"The brightest feature of the British railway situation is found in the happy relations between the companies and their men," according to "The Engineer" (London). "Never, during the hundred years of railways, has this aspect of the railway position been so good. There is, at present, a noticeable *esprit de corps* among the men, a greater desire to give a day's work for a day's pay, both in the operating and the manufacturing and repairing branches. . . . We believe, and will almost go as far as to affirm, that the attitude of the men is the result of the unions having been recognized and of the men themselves having been given a greater interest in the operation of the railways."

Recently, in Switzerland, according to the "Writer," a citizen was brought before a magistrate charged with failing to return a borrowed book, and sentenced to spend two days in jail and to pay a fine of forty francs, in addition to the value of the book. The magistrate in passing sentence said: "A book is a family utensil, like furniture, and is necessary to the welfare of the family." "The Writer" adds: "A practical way to secure the return of borrowed books is to put in the place of the book taken from the library shelf a piece of cardboard about the size of the book, on which is written the title of the volume, the name of the borrower, and the date when the book was lent." And, it might be added, when it is to be returned.

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